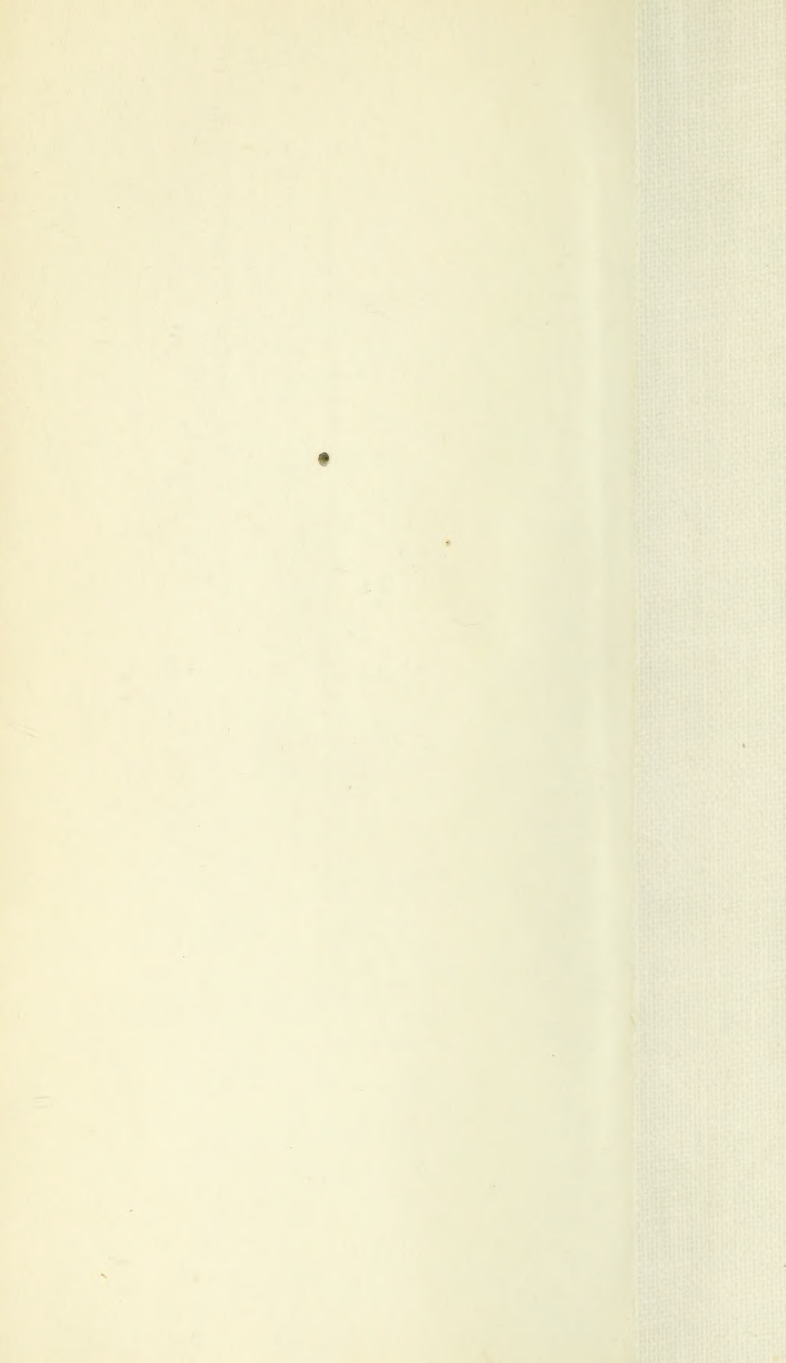






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THE
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THE
PARADISO
OF
DANTE ALIGHIERI

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THE
PARADISO
OF
DANTE ALIGHIERI



After Botticelli.

Paradiso III 19-33.

THE

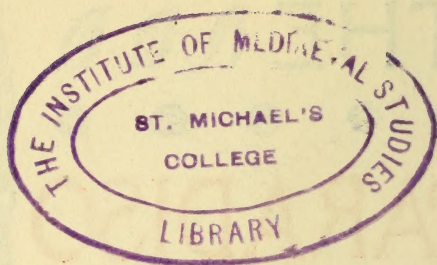
PARADISO

OF

DANTE

ALIGHIERI

translated by W. G. Ross



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Supremely may be said absolutely or with respect to such an one. None partaketh God supremely in the absolute sense, but supremely with respect to himself. For each one partaketh him so largely, not that he may not be partaken more, but that he may not more partake him, because he may not advance beyond, and is utterly content with that state which he hath.

BONAVENTURA.

PARADISO

SUBJECT matter (1-12) and invocation (13-36).

The sun is in the equinoctial point. It is midday at Purgatory and midnight at Jerusalem, when Dante sees Beatrice gazing at the sun and instinctively imitates her gesture, looking away from her and straight at the sun (37-54). The light glows as though God had made a second sun, and Dante now turns once more to Beatrice who is gazing heavenward. As he looks his human nature is transmuted to the quality of heaven and he knows not whether he is still in the flesh or no (55-75). They pass through the sphere of fire and hear the harmonies of heaven, but Dante is

Paradiso
Terrestre

La gloria di colui che tutto move
per l' universo penetra, e risplende
in una parte più, e meno altrove.

Nel ciel che più della sua luce prende
fu' io ; e vidi cose che ridire
nè sa nè può qual di lassù discende ;

perchè, appressando sè al suo disire,
nostro intelletto si profonda tanto,
che retro la memoria non può ire.

Veramente quant' io del regno santo
nella mia mente potei far tesoro,
sarà ora materia del mio canto.

O buono Apollo, all' ultimo lavoro
fammi del tuo valor sì fatto vaso,
come dimandi a dar l' amato alloro.

Infino a qui l' un giogo di Parnaso
assai mi fu, ma or con ambo e due
m' è uopo entrar nell' aringo rimaso.

Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue
sì come quando Marsia traesti
della vagina delle membra sue.

4

7

10

13

16

19

CANTO I

bewildered because he knows not that they have left the earth, and when enlightened by Beatrice he is still perplexed to know how he can rise, counter to gravitation (76-99). Beatrice, pitying the delirium of his earthly mind, explains to him the law of universal (material and spiritual) gravitation. All things seek their true place, and in the orderly movement thereto, and rest therein, consists the likeness of the universe to God. Man's place is God, and to rise to him is therefore natural to man. It is departing from him that (like fire darting downwards) is the anomaly that needs to be explained (100-142).

The All-mover's glory penetrates through the universe, and regloweth in one region more, and less in another. The glory of God

In that heaven which most receiveth of his light, have I been; and have seen things which whoso descendeth from up there hath nor knowledge nor power to re-tell;

because, as it draweth nigh to its desire, our intellect sinketh so deep, that memory cannot go back upon the track.

Nathless, whatever of the holy realm I had the power to treasure in my memory, shall now be matter of my song.

O good Apollo, for the crowning task, make me a so-fashioned vessel of thy worth, as thou demandest for the grant of thy beloved laurel. The poet's prayer

Up till here one peak of Parnassus hath sufficed me; but now, with both the two, needs must I enter this last wrestling-ground.

Into my bosom enter thou, and so breathe as when thou drewest Marsyas from out what sheathed his limbs.

PQ

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AI

- Paradiso** O divina virtù, se mi ti presti 22
Terrestre tanto che l' ombra del beato regno
 segnata nel mio capo io manifesti,
 venir vedra' mi al tuo diletto legno, 25
 e coronarmi allor di quelle foglie,
 che la materia e tu mi farai degno.
 Sì rade volte, padre, se ne coglie, 28
 per trionfare o Cesare o poeta,
 colpa e vergogna dell' umane voglie,
 che partorir letizia in sulla lieta 31
 delfica deità dovria la fronda
 Peneia, quando alcun di sè asseta.
 Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda: 34
 forse retro da me con miglior voci
 si pregherà perchè Cirra risponda.
Salita Surge ai mortali per diverse foci 37
 la lucerna del mondo; ma da quella,
 che quattro cerchi giunge con tre croci,
 con miglior corso e con migliore stella 40
 esce congiunta, e la mondana cera
 più a suo modo tempera e suggella.
 Fatto avea di là mane e di qua sera 43
 tal foce quasi, e tutto era là bianco
 quello emisperio, e l' altra parte nera,
 quando Beatrice in sul sinistro fianco 46
 vidi rivolta, e riguardar nel sole.
 Aquila sì non gli s' affisse unquanco.
 E sì come secondo raggio suole 49
 uscir del primo, e risalire in suso,
 pur come peregrin che tornar vuole;
 così dell' atto suo, per gli occhi infuso 52
 nell' imagine mia, il mio si fece,
 e fissi gli occhi al sole oltre a nostr' uso.

O divine Virtue, if thou dost so far lend thyself **Invocation**
 to me, that I make manifest the shadow of
 the blessed realm imprinted on my brain,
 thou shalt see me come to thy chosen tree
 and crown me, then, with the leaves of which
 the matter and thou shalt make me worthy.

So few times, Father, is there gathered of it,
 for triumph or of Caesar or of poet,—fault
 and shame of human wills,—
 that the Peneian frond should bring forth glad-
 ness in the joyous Delphic deity, when it sets
 any athirst for itself.

A mighty flame followeth a tiny spark; per-
 chance, after me, shall prayer with better
 voices be so offered that Cirra may respond.

The lantern of the universe riseth unto mortal
 through divers straits; but from that which
 joineth four circles in three crosses

he issueth with more propitious course, and
 united with a more propitious star, and doth
 temper and stamp the mundane wax more
 after his own mood.

Almost this strait had made morning on that side **Noonday**
 and evening on this; and there that hemisphere
 all was aglow, and the other region darkling;
 when I beheld Beatrice turned on her left side
 and gazing on the sun. Never did eagle so
 fix himself thereon.

And even as the second ray doth ever issue from
 the first, and rise back upward, (like as a
 pilgrim whose will is to return);

so from her gesture, poured through the eyes into my
 imagination, did mine own take shape; and I fixed
 mine eyes upon the sun, transcending our wont.

- Salita** Molto è licito là, che qui non lece 55
alle nostre virtù, mercè del loco
fatto per proprio dell' umana spece.
- Io nol sofferarsi molto, nè sì poco 58
ch' io nol vedessi sfavillar dintorno,
qual ferro che bogliente esce del foco.
- E di subito parve giorno a giorno 61
essere aggiunto, come quei che puote
avesse il ciel d' un altro sole adorno.
- Beatrice tutta nell' eterne rote 64
fissa con gli occhi stava : ed io in lei
le luci fissi, di lassù remote.
- Nel suo aspetto tal dentro mi fei, 67
qual si fe' Glauco nel gustar dell' erba,
che il fe' consorto in mar degli altri dei.
- Trasumanar significar *per verba* 70
non si poria ; però l' esempio basti
a cui esperienza grazia serba.
- S' io era sol di me quel che creasti 73
novellamente, Amor che il ciel governi,
tu il sai, che col tuo lume mi levasti.
- Quando la rota, che tu sempiterni 76
desiderato, a sè mi fece atteso,
con l' armonia che temperi e discerni,
- parvemi tanto allor del cielo acceso 79
dalla fiamma del sol, che pioggia o fiume
lago non fece mai tanto disteso.
- La novità del suono e il grande lume 82
di lor cagion m' accesero un disio
mai non sentito di cotanto acume.
- Ond' ella, che vedea me, sì com' io, 85
a quietarmi l' animo commosso,
pria ch' io a domandar, la bocca aprio ;

Much is granted there which is not granted here Beatrice
and Dante
to our powers, in virtue of the place made as
proper to the human race.

I not long endured him, nor yet so little but
that I saw him sparkle all around, like iron
issuing molten from the furnace.

And, of a sudden, meseemed that day was added
unto day, as though he who hath the power,
had adorned heaven with a second sun.

Beatrice was standing with her eyes all fixed
upon the eternal wheels, and I fixed my sight,
removed from there above, on her.

Gazing on her such I became within, as was Glaucus
Glaucus, tasting of the grass that made him
the sea-fellow of the other gods.

To pass beyond humanity may not be told in words,
wherefore let the example satisfy him for
whom grace reserveth the experience.

If I was only that of me which thou didst new-
create, O Love who rulest heaven, thou
knowest, who with thy light didst lift me up.

When the wheel which thou, by being longed Harmony
of the
Spheres
for, makest eternal, drew unto itself my mind
with the harmony which thou dost temper and
distinguish,

so much of heaven then seemed to me enkindled
with the sun's flame, that rain nor river ever
made a lake so wide distended.

The newness of the sound and the great light
kindled in me a longing for their cause, ne'er
felt before so keenly.

Whence she who saw me even as I saw myself,
to still my agitated mind, opened her lips, e'er
I mine to ask ;

- Salita e cominciò : “ Tu stesso ti fai grosso
col falso imaginar, sì che non vedi
ciò che vedresti, se l’avessi scosso. 88
- Tu non se’ in terra, sì come tu credi ; 91
ma folgore, fuggendo il proprio sito,
non corse, come tu ch’ ad esso riedi.”
- S’ io fui del primo dubbio disvestito 94
per le sorrise parolette brevi,
dentro ad un novo più fui irretito ;
- e dissi : “ Già contento requievi 97
di grande ammirazion ; ma ora ammiro
com’ io trascenda questi corpi lievi.”
- Ond’ ella, appresso d’un pio sospiro, 100
gli occhi drizzò ver me con quel sembiante
che madre fa sopra figliuol deliro ;
- e cominciò : “ Le cose tutte e quante 103
hann’ ordine tra loro ; e questo è forma
che l’universo a Dio fa simigliante.
- Qui veggion l’ alte creature l’ orma 106
dell’ eterno valore, il quale è fine,
al quale è fatta la toccata norma.
- Nell’ ordine ch’ io dico sono accline 109
tutte nature, per diverse sorti,
più al principio loro e men vicine ;
- onde si movono a diversi porti 112
per lo gran mar dell’essere, e ciascuna
con istinto a lei dato che la porti.
- Questi ne porta il foco in ver la luna, 115
questi nei cor mortali è permotore,
questi la terra in sè stringe ed aduna.
- Nè pur le creature, che son fuore 118
d’intelligenza, quest’ arco saetta,
ma quelle ch’ hanno intelletto ed amore.

and she began: "Thou thyself makest thyself dense
 with false imagining, and so thou seest not what
 thou wouldst see, if thou hadst cast it off. **Earthly
 and
 heavenly
 law**

Thou art not upon earth, as thou believest; but
 lightning, fleeing its proper site, ne'er darted
 as dost thou who art returning thither."

If I was stripped of my first perplexity by the
 brief smile-enwrapped discourse, I was the
 more enmeshed within another;

and I said: "Content already and at rest from
 a great marvelling, now am I in amaze how I
 transcend these lightsome bodies."

Whereon she, after a sigh of pity, turned her
 eyes toward me with that look a mother casts
 on her delirious child;

and began: "All things whatsoever observe a **Order the
 Supreme
 law**
 mutual order; and this the form that maketh
 the universe like unto God.

Herein the exalted creatures trace the impress of
 the Eternal Worth, which is the goal whereto
 was made the norm now spoken of.

In the order of which I speak all things incline,
 by diverse lots, more near and less unto their
 principle;

wherefore they move to diverse ports o'er the
 great sea of being, and each one with instinct
 given it to bear it on.

This beareth the fire toward the moon; this is
 the mover in the hearts of things that die; this
 doth draw the earth together and unite it.

Nor only the creatures that lack intelligence doth
 this bow shoot, but those that have both in-
 tellect and love.

- Salita** La provvidenza, che cotanto assetta, 122
 del suo lume fa il ciel sempre quieto,
 nel qual si volge quel ch' ha maggior fretta ;
 ed ora lì, com' a sito decreto, 124
 cen porta la virtù di quella corda,
 che ciò che scocca drizza in segno lieto.
 Ver' è che come forma non s' accorda 127
 molte fiate alla intenzion dell' arte,
 perch' a risponder la materia è sorda ;
 così da questo corso si diparte 130
 talor la creatura, ch' ha potere
 di piegar, così pinta, in altra parte
 (e sì come veder si può cadere 133
 foco di nube), se l' impeto primo
 a terra è torto da falso piacere.
 Non dei più ammirar, se bene estimo, 136
 lo tuo salir, se non come d' un rivo
 se d' alto monte scende giuso ad imo.
 Maraviglia sarebbe in te, se privo 139
 d'impedimento giù ti fossi assiso,
 come a terra quiete in foco vivo."
 Quinci rivolse in ver lo cielo il viso. 142

∴ See "Dante's Paradise" at the close of this volume (p. 410), and the editorial note giving the full titles of the books to which reference is here made (p. 417).

1-3. God, as the unmoved source of movement, is the central conception of the Aristotelian theology. Wallace, 39, 46.

God *penetrates* into the essential nature of a thing, and is *reflected* ("regloweth"), more or less, in its concrete being. *Epist. ad Can. Grand.*, § 23 ; *Conv.* iii. 14 : 29-50.

13. Apollo=the Sun=God. *Conv.* iii. 12 : 52-54, and *passim*.

16. *One peak*. Hitherto the inspiration of the Muses has sufficed (*cf.* *Inf.* ii. 7, *Purg.* i. 8), but now the

The Providence that doth assort all this, doth with **Order**
 its light make ever still the heaven wherein
 whirleth that one that hath the greatest speed ;
 and thither now, as to the appointed site, the power
 of that bowstring beareth us which directeth
 to a joyful mark whatso it doth discharge.

True is it, that as the form often accordeth not **How**
 with the intention of the art, because that the **disturbed**
 material is dull to answer ;

so from this course sometimes departeth the
 creature that hath power, thus thrust, to swerve
 to-ward some other part,

(even as fire may be seen to dart down from the
 cloud) if its first rush be wrenched aside to
 earth by false seeming pleasure.

Thou shouldst no more wonder, if I deem aright,
 at thine uprising, than at a river dropping down
 from a lofty mountain to the base.

Marvel were it in thee if, bereft of all impediment,
 thou hadst settled down below ; even as were
 stillness on the earth in a living flame." There-
 on toward Heaven she turned back her gaze.

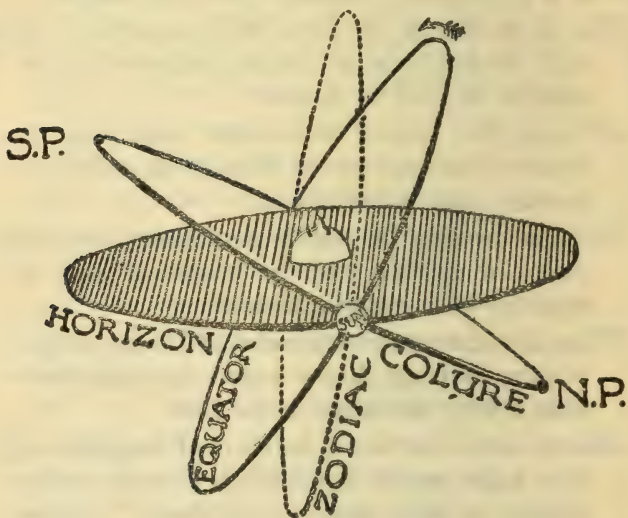
diviner aid of "Apollo" must be invoked as well. It
 is not easy to trace the origin of Dante's (erroneous)
 belief that one peak of Parnassus was sacred to the
 Muses as distinct from Apollo.

19-21. Compare *Purg.* i. 7-12. The underlying
 motive seems to be an appeal to the deities to pro-
 claim their glory through their willing instrument as
 zealously as they vindicated their honour against pre-
 sumptuous rivals. Marsyas was flayed by Apollo for
 his presumption in challenging him to a contest in
 playing the pipe. Hence the allusion to the "sheath
 of his limbs."

32-33. Daphne, the daughter of Peneus, loved by
 Apollo, was changed into a laurel.

36. *Cirrho*. Apollo's peak of Parnassus.

37-39 The circles of the Equator, the Zodiac and the Equinoctial colure, make each a cross with the circle of the horizon. At the equinox, at sunrise, they all meet the horizon and make their crosses with it at the same spot.



43. *had made*, viz. when he rose. It was now noon-day (44, 45).

49-54. The point of analogy appears to consist simply in the derivative character of Dante's act.

57. The Earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden (*Purg.* xxviii. 91-93).

61-63. Owing to their rapid approach to the sun. Compare also *Purg.* xxvii. 89, 90.

64. *Wheel* or *wheels*, here and throughout the *Paradiso* used for the revolving heavens.

68. Ovid tells the tale of the fisherman Glaucus tasting the grass that had revived the fish he had caught, and thereon being seized with yearning for the deep, into which he plunged and became a sea god.

73. Compare 2 *Corinthians* xii. 2. The Soul is

enbreathed by God when the animal body is perfected (*Purg.* xxv. 67-75), and is therefore that part of a man which is to be regarded as a new creation by God, not generated by nature. Compare iii. 87 *note*, and Wallace, 56, *note* 3.

76. It is by inspiring the universe with love and longing (not by any physical means, for he is immaterial) that God, according to Aristotle, causes the never-ending cosmic movements. Wallace, 39.

79-81. Because they were passing through the "sphere of fire" which girt the "sphere of air" as with a second atmosphere.

82. The conception that the seven planetary heavens, like the seven strings of a lyre, uttered divine harmonies as they moved, is expressly rejected by Aristotle. This is one of the few instances in which Dante departs from his authority.

90. *it*, i.e. the *false imagining*, the fixed idea which prevented his comprehending what was before his eyes.

92. *Cf.* xxiii. 41-42.

99. *air*, which Aristotle regarded as relatively, and *fire* which he regarded as absolutely light.

106. *exalted creatures* = angels [and men?].

107-114. God is the goal as well as the source of all. The orderly trend of all things to their true places is therefore their guide to God. But all things do not reach God in the same sense and in the same measure.

119. *Cf.* xxix. 24.

122-3. The Empyrean, which is not spacial at all, does not move and "hath not poles." It girds with light and love the *primum mobile*, the outmost and swiftest of the material heavens. Compare *Paradiso*, xxii. 67, xxvii. 106-120, xxx. 38-42, 52, &c. Also *Conv.* ii. 4: 13-43.

127-135. 'As the medium in which an artist works sometimes appears to resist the impulse and direction which he would give it, so beings endowed with free-will ("the creature that hath power . . . to swerve aside") may resist the impulse towards himself impressed upon them by God, if they allow themselves to be seduced by false delights.'

PARADISO

WARNING and promise to the reader, who shall see a stranger tilth than when Jason sowed the dragon's teeth (1-18). They reach the moon and inconceivably penetrate into her substance without cleaving it, even as deity penetrated into humanity in Christ; which mystery shall in heaven be seen as axiomatic truth (19-45). Dante, dimly aware of the inadequacy of his science, questions Beatrice as to the dark patches on the moon which he had thought were due to rarity of substance (46-60). She explains that if such rarity pierced right through the moon in the dark parts, the sun would shine through them when eclipsed; and if not, the dense matter behind the rare would cast back the sun's light (61-90); and describes

- Salita O voi, che siete in piccioletta barca,
desiderosi d'ascoltar, seguiti
retro al mio legno che cantando varca,
tornate a riveder li vostri liti: 4
non vi mettete in pelago; chè forse,
perdendo me, rimarreste smarriti.
L'acqua ch' io prendo giammai non si corse: 7
Minerva spira, e conducemi Apollo,
e nove Muse mi dimostran l' Orse.
Voi altri pochi, che drizzaste il collo 10
per tempo al pan degli angeli, del quale
vivesi qui, ma non sen vien satollo,
metter potete ben per l' alto sale 13
vostro navigio, servando mio solco
dinanzi all' acqua che ritorna equale.
Quei gloriosi che passaro a Colco 16
non s' ammiraron, come voi farete,
quando Jason vider fatto bifolco.

CANTO II

to him an experiment by which he may satisfy himself that in that case the light reflected from the dense matter at the surface and from that in the interior of the moon would be equally bright (91-105). She then explains that Dante has gone wrong and accepted a scientifically inadequate explanation, because he has not understood that all heavenly phenomena are direct utterances of God and of his Angels. The undivided power of God, differentiated through the various heavenly bodies and agencies, shines in the diverse quality and brightness of the fixed stars, of the planets and of the parts of the moon, as the vital principle manifests itself diversely in the several members of the body, and as joy beams through the pupil of the eye (106-148).

O ye who in your little skiff, longing to hear, **Warning**
have followed on my keel that singeth on its
way,

turn to revisit your own shores ; commit you not
to the open sea ; for perchance, losing me, ye
would be left astray.

The water which I take was never coursed be-
fore ; Minerva bloweth, Apollo guideth me,
and the nine Muses point me to the Bears.

Ye other few, who timely have lift up your necks **and**
for bread of angels whereby life is here sustained **Promise**
but wherefrom none cometh away sated,

ye may indeed commit your vessel to the deep
keeping my furrow, in advance of the water
that is falling back to the level.

The glorious ones who fared to Colchis not so
marvelled as shall ye, when Jason turned
ox-plough-man in their sight.

- Salita** La concreata e perpetua sete 19
del deiforme regno cen portava
veloci, quasi come il ciel vedete.
- Beatrice in suso, ed io in lei guardava ; 22
e forse in tanto, in quanto un quadrel posa
e vola e dalla noce si dischiava,
- Luna** giunto mi vidi ove mirabil cosa 25
mi torse il viso a sè ; e però quella,
cui non potea mia opra essere ascosa,
volta ver me sì lieta come bella : 28
“ Drizza la mente in Dio grata, mi disse,
che n’ ha congiunti con la prima stella.”
- Pareva a me che nube ne coprisse 31
lucida, spessa, solida e polita,
quasi adamante che lo sol ferisse.
- Per entro sè l’ eterna margarita 34
ne recepette, com’ acqua recepe
raggio di luce, permanendo unita
- S’ io era corpo, e qui non si concepe 37
com’ una dimension altra patio
ch’ esser convien se corpo in corpo repe,
accender ne dovria più il disio 40
di veder quella essenza, in che si vede
come nostra natura e Dio s’ unio.
- Lì si vedrà ciò che tenem per fede, 43
non dimostrato, ma fia per sè noto,
a guisa del ver primo che l’uom crede.
- Io risposi : “ Madonna, sì devoto, 46
quant’ esser posso più, ringrazio lui
lo qual dal mortal mondo m’ ha remoto.
- Ma ditemi, che son li segni bui 49
di questo corpo, che laggiuso in terra
fan di Cain favoleggiare altrui ? ”

The thirst, born with us and ne'er failing, for
 the god-like realm bore us swift almost as
 ye see the heaven. The
inconstant

Beatrice was gazing upward, and I on her; and
 perchance in such space as an arrow stays and
 flies and is discharged from the nocking point

I saw me arrived where a wondrous thing drew
 my sight to it; and therefore she from whom
 my doing might not be hidden Entering
the first
heaven

turning to me as much in joy as beauty, "Di-
 rect thy mind to God in gratitude," she said,
 "who hath united us with the first star."

Meseemed a cloud enveloped us, shining, dense,
 firm and polished, like diamond smitten by
 the sun.

Within itself the eternal pearl received us, as
 water doth receive a ray of light, though
 still itself unleft.

If I was body,—and if here we conceive not how
 one dimension could support another, which
 must be, if body into body creep,—

the more should longing enkindle us to see that
 Essence wherein we behold how our own
 nature and God unified themselves. The In-
carnation

There what we hold by faith shall be beheld,
 not demonstrated, but self-known in fashion
 of the initial truth which man believeth.

I answered: "Lady, devoutly as I most may,
 do I thank him who hath removed me from
 the mortal world.

But tell me what those dusky marks upon this
 body, which down there on earth make folk
 to tell the tale of Cain?"

- Luna** Ella sorrise alquanto, e poi : “ S’ egli erra 32
 l’ opinion, mi disse, dei mortali,
 dove chiave di senso non disserra,
certo non ti dovrien punger gli strali 53
 d’ ammirazione omai ; poi retro ai sensi
 vedi che la ragione ha corte l’ ali.
Ma dimmi quel che tu da te ne pensi.” 58
 Ed io : “ Ciò che n’ appar quassù diverso,
 credo che il fanno i corpi rari e densi.”
 Ed ella : “ Certo assai vedrai sommerso 61
 nel falso il creder tuo, se bene ascolti
 l’ argomentar ch’ io gli farò avverso.
La spera ottava vi dimostra molti 64
 lumi, li quali nel quale e nel quanto
 notar si posson di diversi volti.
Se raro e denso ciò facesser tanto, 67
 una sola virtù sarebbe in tutti,
 più e men distributa, ed altrettanto.
Virtù diverse esser convengon frutti 70
 di principi formali, e quei, fuor ch’ uno,
 seguiterieno a tua ragion distrutti.
Ancor, se raro fosse di quel bruno 73
 cagion che tu domandi, od oltre in parte
 fora di sua materia sì digiuno
costo pianeta, o, sì come comparte 76
 lo grasso e il magro un corpo, così questo
 nel suo volume cangerebbe carte.
Se il primo fosse, fora manifesto 79
 nell’ eclissi del sol, per trasparere
 lo lume, come in altro raro ingesto.
Questo non è ; però è da vedere 82
 dell’ altro, e s’ egli avvien ch’ io l’ altro cassi,
 falsificato fia lo tuo parere.

She smiled a little, and then: "And if," she said, "the opinion of mortals goeth wrong, where the key of sense doth not unlock, truly the shafts of wonder should no longer pierce thee; since even when the senses give the lead thou see'st reason hath wings too short." The
Inconstant

But tell me what thou, of thyself, thinkest concerning it?" And I: "That which to us appeareth diverse in this high region, I hold to be produced by bodies rare and dense."

And she: "Verily, thou shalt see thy thought plunged deep in falsity, if well thou hearken to the argument which I shall make against it. The eighth sphere revealeth many lights to you, the which in quality, as eke in quantity, may be observed of diverse countenance.

If rare and dense alone produced this thing, one only virtue, more or less or equally distributed, were in them all. Shadows
on the
moon

Diverse virtues must needs be fruits of formal principles, the which, save only one, would have no leave to be, upon thy reasoning.

Again, were rarity cause of that duskiness whereof thou makest question, either in some certain part, right through, thus stinted of its matter were this planet; or, like as a body doth dispose the fat and lean, would it alternate pages in its volume.

Were the first true, 'twould be revealed in the eclipses of the sun, by the light shining through it, as it doth when hurled on aught else rare.

This is not; wherefore we have to see what of the other case, and if it chance that I make vain this also, thy thought will be refuted.

- Luna** S' egli è che questo raro non trapassi,
esser conviene un termine, da onde
lo suo contrario più passar non lassi ;
ed indi l' altrui raggio si rifonde
così, come color torna per vetro,
lo qual di retro a sè piombo nasconde. 85
- Or dirai tu ch' ei si dimostra tetro 88
quivi lo raggio più che in altre parti,
per esser lì rifratto più a retro. 97
- Da questa istanzia può diliberarti 94
esperienza, se giammai la provi,
ch' esser suol fonte ai rivi di vostr' arti.
- Tre specchi prenderai ; e due rimovi 97
da te d' un modo, e l' altro più rimosso
tr' ambo li primi gli occhi tuoi ritrovi.
- Rivolto ad essi fa che dopo il dosso 100
ti stea un lume che i tre specchi accenda,
e torni a te da tutti ripercosso.
- Benchè, nel quanto, tanto non si stenda 103
la vista più lontana, lì vedrai
come convien ch' egualmente risplenda.
- Or, come ai colpi delli caldi rai 106
della neve riman nudo il soggetto
e dal colore e dal freddo primai ;
così rimaso te nello intelletto 109
voglio informar di luce sì vivace,
che ti tremolerà nel suo aspetto.
- Dentro dal ciel della divina pace 112
si gira un corpo, nella cui virtute
l' esser di tutto suo contento giace.
- Lo ciel seguente, ch' ha tante vedute, 115
quell' esser parte per diverse essenze
da lui distinte e da lui contenute ;

If it be that this rare matter goeth not through-
 out, needs must there be a limit, from which The
inconstant
 its contrary doth intercept its passing on ;
 and thence that other's ray were so cast back, as
 colour doth return from glass which hideth
 lead behind it.

Now thou wilt urge that the ray here is darkened
 rather than in other parts, because here it is
 recast from further back.

From this plea experiment may disentangle thee,
 (if thou wilt make the proof) which ever is
 the spring of the rivers of your arts.

Three mirrors thou shalt take, and set two equally
 remote from thee ; and let the third further re-
 moved strike on thine eyes between the other two.

Turning to them, have a light set behind thy Shadows
on the
moon
 back, enkindling the three mirrors, and, back-
 smitten by them all, coming again to thee.

Whereas in size the more distant shew shall not
 have so great stretch, yet thou there shalt see
 it needs must shine as brightly as the others.

Now,—as at the stroke of the warm rays the
 substrate of the snow is stripped both of the
 colour and the coldness which it had,—

thee, so left stripped in thine intellect, would I
 inform with light so living, it shall tremble as
 thou lookest on it.

Within the heaven of the divine peace whirleth
 a body, in whose virtue lieth the being of all
 that it containeth.

The heaven next following, which hath so many
 things to show, parteth this being amid diverse
 essences, which it distinguisheth and doth
 contain ;

- Luna gli altri giron per varie differenze 118
 le distinzion, che dentro da sè hanno,
 dispongono a lor fini e lor semenze.
- Questi organi del mondo così vanno, 121
 come tu vedi omai, di grado in grado,
 chè di su prendono, e di sotto fanno.
- Riguarda bene omai sì com' io vado 124
 per questo loco al ver che tu disiri,
 sì che poi sappi sol tener lo guado.
- Lo moto e la virtù dei santi giri, 127
 come dal fabbro l' arte del martello,
 dai beati motor convien che spiri ;
- e il ciel, cui tanti lumi fanno bello, 130
 dalla mente profonda che lui volve
 prende l' image, e fassene suggello.
- E come l' alma dentro a vostra polve 133
 per differenti membra e conformate
 a diverse potenze si risolve ;
- così l' intelligenza sua bontate 136
 moltiplicata per le stelle spiega,
 girando sè sopra sua unitate.
- Virtù diversa fa diversa lega 139
 col prezioso corpo ch' ell' avviva,
 nel qual, sì come vita in voi, si lega.
- Per la natura lieta onde deriva 142
 la virtù mista per lo corpo luce,
 come letizia per pupilla viva.
- Da essa vien ciò che da luce a luce 145
 par differente, non da denso e raro :
 essa è formal principio che produce,
 conforme a sua bontà, lo turbo e il chiaro.” 148

the other circling bodies by various differentiatings, ^{The} dispose the distinct powers they have within them- ^{inconstan} selves, unto their ends and to their fertilisings.

These organs of the universe go, as thou seest now, from grade to grade ; for from above do they receive, and downward do they work.

Now mark well how I thread this pass to the truth for which thou longest, that thou thereafter mayest know to keep the ford alone.

The movement and the virtue of the sacred wheelings, as the hammer's art from the smith, must needs be an effluence from the blessed movers ; and the heaven which so many lights make beautiful, from the deep mind which rolleth it, taketh the image and thereof maketh the seal.

And as the soul within your dust, through members differing and conformed to divers powers, doth diffuse itself, ^{Diffusion of the Divine Spirit}

so doth the Intelligence deploy its goodness, multiplied through the stars, revolving still on its own unity.

Diverse virtue maketh diverse alloy with the precious body which it quickeneth, wherein, as life in you, it is upbound.

By cause of the glad nature whence it floweth, the mingled virtue shineth through the body, as gladness doth through living pupil.

Thence cometh what seems different 'twixt light and light, and not from dense and rare ; this is the formal principle that produceth, conformably to its own excellence, the turbid and the clear."

43-45. See vi. 19-21 *note*.

51. "The common folk tell the tale how Cain may

be seen in the moon, going with a bundle of thorns to sacrifice." Benvenuto. Compare *Inf.* xx. 126.

58-60. See *Conv.* ii. 14: 69-76, where this explanation, based on Averroes (but inverting him), is given.

64-72. 'The heaven of the fixed stars reveals a diversity in the luminous substance of its many heavenly bodies. The heaven of the moon reveals a diversity in the luminous substance of its one heavenly body. The problem of the eighth and of the first heaven is therefore essentially identical, and we must seek a solution applicable to both the heavens. Your proposed solution, if applied to the fixed stars, would make their difference merely quantitative, whereas it is admitted to be qualitative also, for the influences of the fixed stars differ one from another in kind.'

79-81. 'If we account for the dullness of some parts of the moon by saying that there her substance is rare right through, from side to side, that means that some of the sun's rays are not cast back at all but escape at the far side. Now if some of the sun's rays could pierce right through the moon when he is in front of her, they would do so when he is behind her (*i.e.* in a solar eclipse) which we know they do not.'

85-105. 'If, on the contrary, the sun's rays encounter a dense stratum before they pierce right through, they will be reflected back from that dense stratum within the moon just as they are from the dense surface of her other portions. You will then have the effect of several reflecting surfaces (*i.e.* mirrors), at various distances, throwing back the same light. Construct a model of this by placing two mirrors before you (representing bright parts of the moon) with a third mirror, between them, further back (representing the supposed dense stratum in the interior substance of the moon where the dark patches are), and have a light (representing the sun) set behind you. You will find that the middle reflection is indeed *smaller* than the other two but not *duller*, as by your hypothesis it should be.' See Fig. on pp. 58, 59.

Brightness is truly the ratio of the amount of light reaching the eye to the apparent size of the object, and since both of these diminish in proportion to the square of the distance, the brightness remains constant.

But this statement neglects absorption by the medium; and, moreover, the moon is not a mirror, in which we see the sun, but is more like a piece of paper on which a lamp is shining; and the brightness of such a surface is affected by its distance from the source of light, though not by its distance from the spectator.

106-111. 'Your mind is now a blank. All your ideas on the subject are gone, and nothing is left but the potential receptacle of ideas (your mind); just as when the sun shines on the snow, all its qualities disappear and nothing is left except that (whatever it is) that underlies the qualities, and is potentially susceptible of having them impressed again upon it.'

112-114. Compare i. 121-123, and *note*. The being of everything that exists is implicitly contained in the *Primum Mobile*.

116. *Diverse essences*, according to the translation = the fixed stars. But the Italian may mean "distinct from it" (not "distinguished by it"), and may refer to the lower spheres and the planets.

121-123. Compare *Epist. ad C.G.* 400-404 (§ 21).

124-144. A difficulty seems to be caused by Dante's habit of sometimes explicitly recognising, and sometimes practically ignoring, the distinction between the heavens or heavenly bodies and their guiding and influencing Angels. There is no confusion in his own mind; but the connection between the Angels and the heavens is so close that it is often unnecessary to dwell upon the distinction, which distinction, however, is always there. It has been ignored up to this point in the present Canto. Now we find the "differentiations" of the Divine Power recognised as divers angelic virtues which are respectively connected with the divers heavenly bodies, so that the moving heaven is an "alloy," or union of the heavenly substance and the angelic influence. Again, the "mingled virtue" itself that shines through the heavenly body is the personality of the Angel mingled with the creating and inspiring power of God. Cf. xxi. 82-87.

127-132. The hammer takes its direction, etc., from the mind of the smith, and stamps that mind upon the iron. So the heavens.

131. God, or the cherub that guides the stellar sphere.

PARADISO

AS Dante is about to speak he sees the faint outlines of human features and taking them for reflections looks behind him but sees nothing (1-24). Beatrice smiles at his taking the most real existences he has ever yet beheld for mere semblances, tells him why they are there and bids him address them (25-33). Dante learns from Piccarda that each soul in heaven rejoices in the whole order of which it is part, and therefore

- Lana** Quel sol, che pria d'amor mi scaldò il petto,
di bella verità m' avea scoperto,
provando e riprovando, il dolce aspetto ;
ed io, per confessar corretto e certo 4
me stesso, tanto quanto si convenne,
levai lo capo a proferer più erto.
Ma visione apparve, che ritenne 7
a sè me tanto stretto per vedersi,
che di mia confession non mi sovvenne.
Quali per vetri trasparenti e tersi, 10
o ver per acque nitide e tranquille,
non sì profonde che i fondi sien persi,
tornan dei nostri visi le postille 13
debili sì che perla in bianca fronte
non vien men tosto alle nostre pupille ;
tali vid' io più facce a parlar pronte, 16
perch' io dentro all' error contrario corsi
a quel ch' accese amor tra l' uomo e il fonte.
Subito, sì com' io di lor m' accorsi, 19
quelle stimando specchiati sembianti,
per veder di cui fosser gli occhi torsi ;
e nulla vidi, e ritorsi avanti 22
dritti nel lume della dolce guida,
che sorridendo ardea negli occhi santi.

CANTO III

desires no higher place than is assigned to it, for such desire would violate the law of love, and therefore the harmony of heaven, and with it the joy of the unduly aspiring soul itself (34-90). He further learns Piccarda's history and that of Constance (91-120). After which the souls disappear and Dante's eyes return to Beatrice (121-130).

That sun which first warmed my bosom with
love had thus unveiled for me, by proof and The
Inconstant
refutation, fair truth's sweet aspect ;

and I, to confess me corrected and assured, in
measure as was meet, sloped up my head to
speak.

But there appeared to me a sight which so
straitly held me to itself, to look upon it,
that I bethought me not of my confession.

In such guise as, from glasses transparent and
polished, or from waters clear and tranquil,
not so deep that the bottom is darkened,
come back the notes of our faces, so faint that
a pearl on a white brow cometh not slower
upon our pupils ;

so did I behold many a countenance, eager to Spirits in
the moon
speak ; wherefore I fell into the counter error
of that which kindled love between the man
and fountain.

No sooner was I aware of them, than, thinking
them reflected images, I turned round my
eyes to see of whom they were ;

and I saw naught, and turned them forward again
straight on the light of my sweet guide, whose
sacred eyes glowed as she smiled.

- Luna** “Non ti maravigliar perch’ io sorrida, 25
mi disse, appresso il tuo pueril coto,
poi sopra il vero ancor lo piè non fida,
ma ti rivilve, come suole, a vòto. 28
Vere sustanzie son ciò che tu vedi,
qui rilegate per manco di voto.
Però parla con esse, ed odi, e credi ; 31
chè la verace luce che le appaga
da sè non lascia lor torcer li piedi.”
Ed io all’ ombra, che pareva più vaga 34
di ragionar, drizza’ mi, e cominciai,
quasi com’ uom cui troppa voglia smaga :
“O ben creato spirito, che ai rai 37
di vita eterna la dolcezza senti,
che non gustata non s’ intende mai,
grazioso mi fia, se mi contenti 40
del nome tuo e della vostra sorte.”
Ond’ ella pronta e con occhi ridenti :
“La nostra carità non serra porte 43
a giusta voglia, se non come quella
che vuol simile a sè tutta sua corte.
Io fui nel mondo vergine sorella ; 46
e se la mente tua ben si riguarda,
non mi ti celerà l’ esser più bella,
ma riconoscerai ch’ io son Piccarda, 49
che, posta qui con questi altri beati,
beata sono in la spera più tarda.
Li nostri affetti, che solo infiammati 52
son nel piacer dello Spirito Santo,
letizian del su’ ordine informati.
E questa sorte, che par giù cotanto, 55
però n’ è data, perchè fur negletti
li nostri voti, e vòti in alcun canto.”

“Wonder not that I smile,” she said, “in ^{The} presence of thy child-like thought, since it ^{inconstant} trusts not its foot upon the truth,

but turneth thee after its wont, to vacancy.

True substances are they which thou beholdest, relegated here for failure of their vows.

Wherefore speak with them, and listen and believe ; for the true light which satisfieth them, suffereth them not to turn their feet aside from it.”

And I to the shade who seemed most to long for converse turned me and began, as one whom too great longing doth confound :

“O well created spirit, who in the rays of eternal life dost feel the sweetness which, save tasted, may ne’er be understood ;

it were acceptable to me, wouldst thou content me with thy name and with your lot.”

Whereat she, eager and with smiling eyes :

“Our love doth no more bar the gate to a just ^{Piccarda} wish, than doth that love which would have all its court like to itself.

In the world I was a virgin sister ; and if thy memory be rightly searched, my greater beauty will not hide me from thee,

but thou wilt know me again for Piccarda, who, placed here with these other blessed ones, am blessed in the sphere that moveth slowest.

Our affections, which are aflame only in the pleasure of the Holy Spirit, rejoice to be informed after his order.

And this lot, which seemeth so far down, therefore is given us because our vows were slighted, and on some certain side were not filled in.”

- Luna** Ond' io a lei : “ Nei mirabili aspetti 58
 vostri risplende non so che divino,
 che vi trasmuta dai primi concetti.
- Però non fui a rimembrar festino ; 61
 ma or m' aiuta ciò che tu mi dici,
 sì che raffigurar m' è più latino.
- Ma dimmi : voi, che siete qui felici, 64
 desiderate voi più alto loco
 per più vedere, o per più farvi amici ? ”
- Con quelle altr' ombre pria sorrise un poco ; 67
 da indi mi rispose tanto lieta,
 ch' arder pareva d' amor nel primo foco :
- “ Frate, la nostra volontà quieta 70
 virtù di carità, che fa volerne
 sol quel ch' avemo, e d' altro non ci asseta.
- Se disiassimo esser più superne, 73
 foran discordi gli nostri disiri
 dal voler di colui che qui ne cerne,
- che vedrai non capere in questi giri, 76
 s' essere in caritate è qui *necesse*,
 e se la sua natura ben rimiri.
- Anzi è formale ad esto beato *esse* 79
 tenersi dentro alla divina voglia,
 per ch' una fansi nostre voglie stesse.
- Sì che, come noi sem di soglia in soglia 82
 per questo regno, a tutto il regno piace,
 come allo re ch' a suo voler ne invoglia ;
- e la sua volontate è nostra pace : 85
 ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si move
 ciò ch' ella crea e che natura face.”
- Chiaro mi fu allor com' ogni dove 88
 in cielo è Paradiso; e sì la grazia
 del sommo ben d'un modo non vi piove.

Whereon I to her : " In your wondrous aspects The
 a divine somewhat regloweth that doth trans- inconstant
 mute you from conceits of former times.

Wherefore I lagged in calling thee to mind ;
 now what thou tellest me giveth such help
 that more articulately I retrace thee.

But tell me, ye whose blessedness is here, do ye
 desire a more lofty place, to see more, or to
 make yourselves more dear ? "

With those other shades first she smiled a little,
 then answered me so joyous that she seemed
 to burn in love's first flame :

" Brother, the quality of love stilleth our will, Piccarda
 and maketh us long only for what we have, answereth
 and giveth us no other thirst.

Did we desire to be more aloft, our longings
 were discordant from his will who here
 assorteth us,

and for that, thou wilt see, there is no room
 within these circles, if of necessity we have
 our being here in love, and if thou think again
 what is love's nature.

Nay, 'tis the essence of this blessed being to
 hold ourselves within the divine will, whereby
 our own wills are themselves made one.

So that our being thus, from threshold unto The will
 threshold throughout the realm, is a joy to all of God
 the realm as to the king, who draweth our
 wills to what he willeth ;

and his will is our peace ; it is that sea to
 which all moves that it createth and that nature
 maketh."

Clear was it then to me how every where in heaven
 is Paradise, e'en though the grace of the chief
 Good doth not rain there after one only fashion.

- Luna Ma sì com' egli avvien, se un cibo sazia, 91
 e d' un altro rimane ancor la gola,
 che quel si chiede, e di quel si ringrazia;
 così fec' io con atto e con parola, 94
 per apprender da lei qual fu la tela,
 onde non trasse insino a co' la spola.
- “ Perfetta vita ed alto merto inciela 97
 donna più su, mi disse, alla cui norma
 nel vostro mondo giù si veste e vela,
 perchè in fino al morir si vegghi e dorma 100
 con quello sposo ch' ogni voto accetta,
 che caritate a suo piacer conforma.
- Dal mondo, per seguirla, giovinetta 103
 fuggi' mi, e nel suo abito mi chiusi,
 e promisi la via della sua setta.
- Uomini poi, a mal più ch' al bene usi, 106
 fuor mi rapiron della dolce chiostra;
 e Dio si sa qual poi mia vita fusi.
- E quest' altro splendor, che ti si mostra 109
 dalla mia destra parte, e che s' accende
 di tutto il lume della spera nostra,
 ciò ch' io dico di me di sè intende. 112
 Sorella fu, e così le fu tolta
 di capo l' ombra delle sacre bende.
- Ma poi che pur al mondo fu rivolta 114
 contra suo grado e contra buona usanza,
 non fu dal vel del cor giammai disciolta.
- Quest' è la luce della gran Costanza, 116
 che del secondo vento di Suave
 generò il terzo, e l' ultima possanza.”
- Così parlammi, e poi cominciò “ *Ave,* 121
Maria,” cantando; e cantando vanio
 come per acqua cupa cosa grave.

But even as it chanceth, should one food sate us **The**
 while for another the appetite remaineth, that **inconstant**
 returning thanks for that, we ask for this ;

so with gesture and with word did I, to learn
 from her what was that web through which
 she had not drawn the shuttle to the end.

“ Perfected life and high desert enheaveneth a lady **S. Clara**
 more aloft,” she said, “ by whose rule down in
 your world there are who clothe and veil them-
 selves,

that they, even till death, may wake and sleep with
 that Spouse who accepteth every vow that love
 hath made conform with his good pleasure.

From the world, to follow her, I fled while yet
 a girl, and in her habit I enclosed myself, and
 promised the way of her company.

Thereafter men more used to ill than good tore
 me away from the sweet cloister ; and God
 doth know what my life then became.

And this other splendour who revealeth herself **Constance**
 to thee on my right side, and who kindleth
 herself with all the light of our sphere,

doth understand of her that which I tell of me.

She was a sister, and from her head was taken
 in like manner the shadow of the sacred veil.

Yet, turned back as she was into the world, against
 her pleasure and against good usage, from her
 heart’s veil never was she loosened.

This is the light of the great Constance, who,
 from the second blast of Suabia, conceived the
 third and final might.”

Thus did she speak to me, and then began to
 sing *Ave Maria*, and vanished as she sang,
 like to a heavy thing through the deep water.

- Luna** La vista mia, che tanto la seguio 124
 quanto possibil fu, poi che la perse
 volsesi al segno di maggior disio,
 ed a Beatrice tutta si converse ; 127
 ma quella folgorò nello mio sguardo
 sì che da prima il viso non sofferse,
 e ciò mi fece a domandar più tardo. 130

16-18. Narcissus took his own reflection for an actual being. Dante took the actual beings he now saw for reflections.

29. A *substance* is anything that exists in itself, e.g. a man, a tree, a sword. It is opposed to *accident*, that which exists only as an experience or an attribute of some "substance," e.g. love, greenness, brightness. Compare *Vita Nuova*, § 25.

41. *Thy* name, and *your* lot (i.e. the lot thou sharest with thy companions).

49. Piccarda was the daughter of Simone Donati, and the sister of Dante's friend Forese (see *Purg.* xxiii. 40, *sqq.*) and of the celebrated Corso (compare Gardner i. 4 "Blacks and Whites," and Villani, vii. 114 etc., etc.). Dante's wife Gemma was the daughter of Manetto Donati, and she too had a brother Forese (Dante's brother-in-law therefore). This has often given rise to confusion.

51. Slowest in the daily revolution from East to West, because nearest to the centre of the Earth and of the whole celestial rotation ; but swiftest in the sense that its *proper* motion (from West to East) has a shorter period than that of any other sphere.

54. Rejoice to have their *form*, or essential being, in

My sight, which followed her far as it might, ^{The} when it had lost her turned to the target of ^{inconstant} a greater longing,
and bent itself all upon Beatrice; but she so flashed upon my look, that at the first my sight endured it not; and this made me the slower with my questioning.

conformity to the divine order, which is itself the *form* of the universe. Compare i. 104, and also vii. 133-141, *note*.

70-90. Compare vi. 112-126.

87. "*That it createth, out of nothing, as angels and rational souls, and that nature maketh, that is produceth by generating.*" Benvenuto. *Cf.* vii. 130 *sqq.*

98. Clara (1194-1253), the friend and disciple of Francis of Assisi.

101, 2. Note the qualification. Not all vows are accepted. See *Parad.* v. 64-84.

106. Her brother Corso, especially, who compelled her to marry Rossellino della Tosa, a man of violent and factious character with whom at the time he sought alliance.

118-120. Frederick Barbarossa, his son Henry VI. and his grandson Frederick II., are the three "blasts of Suabia." Constance was the heiress of the Norman house of Tancred which had conquered Sicily and Southern Italy from the Saracens in the eleventh century, and so of the crown of "the two Sicilies" (Naples and Sicily). See Villani, iv. 20 and v. 16, and *Introduction*, p. xxxii.

PARADISO

PICCARDA has left Dante entangled in two perplexities. Why are the nuns shorn of what had else been the full measure of their glory because they were torn *against their will* from the cloister? And if the inconstant moon is the abode of such as have left their vows unfulfilled was Plato right after all in saying that men's souls come down from the planets connatural with them, and return thereto? (1-24). This latter speculation might lead to dangerous heresy, and Beatrice hastens to explain that the souls who come to meet Dante in the several spheres all have their permanent abiding place with God and the Angels in the Empyrean. Their meeting places with Dante are but symbolical of their spiritual state (25-48). But Plato may have had in mind the divine influences that, through the agency of the planets, act upon men's dispositions and produce good or ill effects which should be credited to

Luna Intra due cibi, distanti e moventi
d' un modo, prima si morria di fame,
che liber uomo l' un recasse ai denti.
Sì si starebbe un agno intra due brame
di fieri lupi, egualmente temendo ;
sì si starebbe un cane intra due dame.
Per che, s' io mi tacea, me non riprendo,
dalli miei dubbi d' un modo sospinto,
poich' era necessario, nè commendo.
Io mi tacea ; ma il mio disir dipinto
m' era nel viso, e il domandar con ello
più caldo assai, che per parlar distinto.
Fe' sì Beatrice, qual fe' Daniello,
Nabuccodonosor levando d' ira,
che l' avea fatto ingiustamente fello ;

CANTO IV

them rather than to the human will. And indeed it was a confused perception of these divine influences that led men into idolatry (49-63). The other difficulty is removed by a distinction between what we wish to do and what, under pressure, we consent to do; for if we consent we cannot plead violence in excuse, although we have done what we did not wish to do (64-114). More questions are started in Dante's mind, for only in the all-embracing truth of God can the human mind find that restful possession which its nature promises it. Short of that each newly acquired truth leads on to further questions (115-135). Beatrice, who had sighed at Dante's previous bewildered questions, smiles approval now, for he asks her a question as to vows which has some spiritual import (136-142).

Between two foods, distant and appetising in like measure, death by starvation would ensue ere a free man put either to his teeth.

The
inconstant
Dante's
perplexities

So would a lamb stand still between two cravings of fierce wolves, in equipoise of dread; so would a dog stand still between two hinds.

Wherefore, if I held my peace I blame me not, (thrust in like measure either way by my perplexities) since 'twas necessity, nor yet commend me.

I held my peace, but my desire was painted on my face, and my questioning with it, in warmer colours far than if set out by speech.

And Beatrice took the part that Daniel took when he lifted Nebuchadnezzar out of the wrath that had made him unjustly cruel,

Read by
Beatrice

- Luna e disse : “ Io veggio ben come ti tira 16
uno ed altro disio, sì che tua cura
sè stessa lega sì che fuor non spira.
- Tu argomenti : ‘ Se il buon voler dura, 19
la violenza altrui per qual ragione
di meritar mi scema la misura ? ’
- Ancor di dubitar ti dà cagione, 22
parer tornarsi l’ anime alle stelle,
secondo la sentenza di Platone.
- Queste son le question che nel tuo velle 25
pontano egualmente ; e però pria
tratterò quella che più ha di felle.
- Dei serafin colui che più s’ india, 28
Moisè, Samuel, e quel Giovanni,
qual prender vuoi, io dico, non Maria,
non hanno in altro cielo i loro scanni, 31
che quegli spirti che mo t’ appariro,
nè hanno all’ esser lor più o meno anni.
- Ma tutti fanno bello il primo giro, 34
e differentemente han dolce vita,
per sentir più e men l’ eterno spiro.
- Qui si mostraron, non perchè sortita 37
sia questa spera lor ; ma per far segno
della celestial ch’ ha men salita.
- Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno, 40
però che solo da sensato apprende
ciò che fa poscia d’ intelletto degno.
- Per questo la Scrittura condiscende 43
a vostra facultate, e piedi e mano
attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende ;
- e santa Chiesa con aspetto umano 46
Gabriel e Michel vi rappresenta,
e l’ altro che Tobia rifece sano.

and she said: "Yea, but I see how this desire
 and that so draweth thee, that thy eager-
 ness entangleth its own self, and therefore
 breathes not forth.

The
 inconstant

Thou arguest: *If the right will endureth, by
 what justice can another's violence sheer me
 the measure of desert?*

And further matter of perplexity is given thee
 by the semblance of the souls returning to the
 stars, as Plato's doctrine hath it.

These are the questions which weigh equally
 upon thy will; and therefore I will first treat
 that which hath the most of gall.

He of the Seraphim who most doth sink himself
 in God, Moses, Samuel, and that John whichso
 thou choose to take, not Mary's self,

All spirits
 abide in the
 Empyrean

in any other heaven hold their seats than these
 spirits who but now appeared to thee, nor have
 they to their being more nor fewer years.

But all make beauteous the first circle, and share
 sweet life, with difference, by feeling more
 and less the eternal breath.

They have here revealed themselves, not that this
 sphere is given them, but to make sign of the
 celestial one that hath the least ascent.

Needs must such speech address your faculty,
 which only from the sense-reported thing
 doth apprehend what it then proceedeth to
 make fit matter for the intellect.

And therefore doth the Scripture condescend
 to your capacity, assigning foot and hand to
 God, with other meaning;

Language
 of
 accommo-
 dation

and Holy Church doth represent to you with
 human aspect Gabriel and Michael, and him
 too who made Tobit sound again.

- Luna** Quel che Timeo dell' anime argomenta 49
non è simile a ciò che qui si vede,
però che, come dice, par che senta.
- Dice che l' alma alla sua stella riede, 52
credendo quella quindi esser decisa,
quando natura per forma la diede.
- E** forse sua sentenza è d' altra guisa 55
che la voce non suona ; ed esser puote
con intenzion da non esser derisa.
- S'** egl' intende tornare a queste rote 58
l' onor dell' influenza e il biasmo, forse
in alcun vero suo arco percote.
- Questo principio male inteso torse 61
già tutto il mondo quasi, sì che Giove,
Mercurio e Marte a nominar trascorse.
- L'** altra dubitazion che ti commove 64
ha men velen, però che sua malizia
non ti poria menar da me altrove.
- Parere ingiusta la nostra giustizia 67
negli occhi dei mortali, è argomento
di fede, e non d' eretica nequizia.
- Ma,** perchè puote vostro accorgimento 70
ben penetrare a questa veritate,
come disiri, ti farò contento.
- Se** violenza è quando quel che pate, 73
niente conferisce a quel che isforza,
non fur quest' alme per essa scusate ;
- chè** volontà, se non vuol, non s'ammorza, 76
ma fa come natura face in foco,
se mille volte violenza il torza.
- Perchè,** s' ella si piega assai o poco, 79
segue la forza ; e così queste fero,
rossendo ritornare al santo loco.

That which Timæus argueth of the souls is not the like of what may here be seen, for seemingly he thinketh as he saith. The inconstant

He saith the soul returneth to its star, believing it cleft thence when nature gave it as a form. Plato's error

Although perchance his meaning is of other guise than the word soundeth, and may have a not-to-be-derided purport.

If he meaneth that the honour and the blame of their influence return unto these wheels, perchance his bow smiteth a certain truth.

This principle misunderstood erst wrenched aside the whole world almost, so that it rushed astray to call upon the names of Jove and Mercury and Mars. Idolatry

The other perplexity which troubleth thee hath less of poison, because its malice could not lead thee away from me elsewhere.

For our justice to appear unjust in mortal eyes is argument of faith, and not of heretic iniquity.

But since your wit hath power to pierce unto this truth, e'en as thou wishest I will satisfy thee.

If *violence* is when he who suffereth doth naught contribute to what forceth him, then these souls had not the excuse of it; Violence

for if the will willeth not, it cannot be crushed, but doth as nature doeth in the flame, though violence wrench it aside a thousand times.

For should it bend itself, or much or little, it doth abet the force; and so did these, since they had power to return to the sacred place.

- Luna** Se fosse stato lor volere intero, 82
 come tenne Lorenzo in su la grada
 e fece Muzio alla sua man severo,
 così le avria ripinte per la strada 85
 ond' eran tratte, come furo sciolte ;
 ma così salda voglia è troppo rada.
 E per queste parole, se ricolte 86
 l' hai come devi, è l' argomento casso,
 che t' avria fatto noia ancor più volte.
 Ma or ti s' attraversa un altro passo 91
 dinanzi agli occhi tal, che per te stesso
 non usciresti, pria saresti lasso.
 Io t' ho per certo nella mente messo, 94
 ch' alma beata non poria mentire
 però ch' è sempre al primo vero appresso :
 e poi potesti da Piccarda udire 97
 che l' affezion del vel Costanza tenne,
 sì ch' ella par qui meco contradire.
 Molte fiate già, frate, addivenne 100
 che per fuggir periglio, contro a grato
 si fe' di quel che far non si convenne ;
 come Almeone, che, di ciò pregato 103
 dal padre suo, la propria madre spese,
 per non perder pietà si fe' spietato.
 A questo punto voglio che tu pense 106
 che la forza al voler si mischia, e fanno
 sì che scusar non si posson l'offense.
 Voglia assoluta non consente al danno, 109
 ma consentevi in tanto in quanto teme,
 se si ritrae, cadere in più affanno.
 Però, quando Piccarda quello esprime, 112
 della voglia assoluta intende, ed io
 dell'altra, sì che ver diciamo insieme."

If their will had remained intact, like that which held Lawrence upon the grid, and made Mucius stern against his own right hand, it would have thrust them back upon the path whence they were drawn, so soon as they were loose ; but such sound will is all too rare.

The
inconstant
The
absolute
will

Now by these words, if thou hast gleaned them as thou should'st, the argument which would have troubled thee more times than this, is rendered void.

But now across thy path another strait confronts thine eyes, through which ere thou should'st win thy way alone, thou should'st be weary.

I have set it in thy mind for sure, that no blessed soul may lie because hard by the Primal Truth it ever doth abide ;

and then thou mightest hear from Piccarda that her devotion to the veil Constance still held, so that here she seemeth me to contradict.

Many a time ere now, my brother, hath it come to pass that to flee peril things were done, against the grain, that were unmeet to do ;

And the
practical

so did Alcmæon, moved by his father's prayer, slay his own mother, and not to sacrifice his filial piety became an impious son.

At this point, I would have thee think, violence receiveth mixture from the will, and they so work that the offences may not plead excuse.

The absolute will consenteth not to the ill, but yet consenteth in so far as it doth fear, should it draw back, to fall into a worse annoy.

Wherefore, when Piccarda expresseth this, she meaneth it of the absolute will, and I of the other ; so that we both speak truth together "

- Luna Cotal fu l'ondeggiar del santo rio, 113
 ch' uscì del fonte ond' ogni ver deriva ;
 tal pose in pace uno ed altro disio.
- " O amanza del primo amante, o diva, 118
 diss' io appresso, il cui parlar m' inonda,
 e scalda sì, che più e più m' avviva,
 non è l'affezion mia tanto profonda, 121
 che basti a render voi grazia per grazia ;
 ma quei che vede e puote a ciò risponda.
- Io veggio ben che giammai non si sazia 124
 nostro intelletto, se il ver non lo illustra,
 di fuor dal qual nessun vero si spazia.
- Posasi in esso, come fera in lustra, 127
 tosto che giunto l' ha : e giugner puollo ;
 se non, ciascun disio sarebbe *frustra*.
- Nasce per quello, a guisa di rampollo, 130
 a piè del vero il dubbio : ed è natura,
 che al sommo pinga noi di collo in collo.
- Questo m' invita, questo m' assicura, 133
 con riverenza, donna, a domandarvi
 d' un' altra verità che m' è oscura.
- Io vo' saper se l' uom può satisfarvi 136
 ai voti manchi sì con altri beni,
 ch' alla vostra statera non sien parvi."
- Beatrice mi guardò con gli occhi pieni 139
 di faville d' amor così divini,
 che, vinta, mia virtù diede le reni,
 e quasi mi perdei con gli occhi chini. 142

13-15. Daniel divined the dream Nebuchadnezzar had dreamed as well as the interpretation of it (*Daniel ii.*). So Beatrice knew what problems were exercising Dante's mind as well as what were the solutions.

24. In the *Timaeus*, which was accessible to Dante in the Latin paraphrase of Chalcidius. Dante's direct

Such the rippling of the sacred stream which
 issued from the Spring whence all truth down-
 floweth ; and being such, it set at peace one
 and the other longing.

The
 inconstant

“ O love of the primal Lover, O divine one,”
 said I then, “ whose speech o’erfloweth me
 and warmeth, so that more and more it
 quickeneth me,

my love hath no such depth as to suffice to
 render grace for grace ; but may he who
 seeth it, and hath the power, answer thereto.

Now do I see that never can our intellect be
 sated, unless that Truth shine on it, beyond
 which no truth hath range.

The mind
 resteth
 only in God

Therein it resteth as a wild beast in his den so
 soon as it hath reached it ; and reach it may ;
 else were all longing futile.

Wherefore there springeth, like a shoot, ques-
 tioning at the foot of truth ; which is a thing
 that thrusteth us to-wards the summit, on from
 ridge to ridge.

This doth invite me and giveth me assurance,
 with reverence, lady, to make question to thee
 as to another truth which is dark to me.

I would know if man can satisfy you so for
 broken vows, with other goods, as not to
 weigh too short upon your balance.”

Beatrice looked on me with eyes filled so divine
 with sparks of love, that my vanquished power
 turned away, and I became as lost with eyes
 downcast.

knowledge of Plato was doubtless confined to this one
 dialogue. The doctrine ascribed to Plato, implicitly
 here and explicitly in *Conv.* ii. 14 : 27, *sqq.* ; iv. 21 : 17,
sqq. (compare *Eclogue* ii. 16, 17), goes somewhat

beyond the warrant of the text either in the Greek or Latin.

27. Plato's doctrine (as understood by Dante) is poisonous because it ascribes to the admitted influences of the heavenly bodies such a pre-potency as would be fatal to the freewill, and therefore to morality. Cf. *Purg.* xvi. 58-81 and xviii. 61-72. *Epist.* viii. 38-41.

41-42. According to the psychology of Aristotle and the Schoolmen, the Intellect works upon images, etc., which are retained in the mind after the sense impressions that produced them have vanished. Thus the *imaginative* faculties receive from the faculties of *sense* the impressions which they then present to the *intellect* for it to work upon. Wallace, 53.

45. "And even the *literal* sense is not the figure itself, but the thing figured. For when Scripture names the arm of God, the *literal* sense is not that God hath any such corporeal member, but hath that which is signified by the said member, to wit operative power." Thomas Aquinas.

48. Raphael. See *Tobit* xi. 2-17. Note that the Vulgate calls the father, as well as the son, Tobias.

51. The controversy still rages as to how far Plato is to be taken literally and how far Aristotle's matter of fact interpretation (and refutation) of his utterances is justified. Thomas Aquinas says: "Now certain say that those poets and philosophers, and especially Plato, did not mean what the superficial sound of their words implies, but chose to hide their wisdom under certain fables and enigmatical phrases, and that Aristotle was often wont to raise objections, not to their meaning, which was sound, but to their words; lest any should be led into error by this way of speaking; and so saith Simplicius in his comment. But Alexander would have it that Plato and the other ancient philosophers meant what their words seem externally to imply; and that Aristotle strove to argue not only against their words, but against their meaning. But we need not greatly concern ourselves as to which of these is true; for the study of philosophy is not directed to ascertaining what men have believed, but how the truth of things standeth." Simplicius (6th century) and Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd and 3rd centuries) are the two greatest of the Greek commentators on Aristotle.

It is interesting to note that even Beatrice hesitates between the two schools of interpretation.

54. The soul is the *form*, or essential and constituent principle, of man.

61-63. This passage is important as throwing light on Dante's constant assumption that the heathen deities, though in one sense "false and lying" (*Inf.* i. 72) yet stand for some truly divine reality. We see here that idolatry springs from a misconception of the divine influences of which the heavenly bodies are the instruments. Its essential content therefore is real and divine, its form is false and impious. Compare viii. 1-9 and *Conv.* ii. 5: 34-51, 6: 113-126.

64-69. A difficult and much controverted passage. It is taken in the translation to mean: 'The apparent return of the souls to the stars might easily betray you unawares into heresy; but the apparent injustice of heaven, however it may exercise your faith, will not lead you into any positive error. You will simply be left in suspense till I explain.' *Argomento di fede* would then mean "the subject matter on which faith exercises itself." No explanation is quite satisfactory.

73-114. The whole psychology of free and enforced action is Aristotelian. The definition of enforced action in lines 73, 74 is taken direct from a passage in the *Ethics*. Wallace, 63.

83, 4. Lawrence († A. D. 258) and Mucius Scævola were alike tried by fire. Note the parallel between sacred and profane history habitual with Dante.

94-96. *Cf.* iii. 31-33.

97. *Cf.* iii. 117.

103-104. Eriphyle, bribed by the celebrated necklace of Harmonia, persuaded her husband Amphiaräus to join the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, in which he knew he would perish. He commanded their son Alcmaeon to avenge him. Compare *Inf.* xx. 31-36. *Purg.* xii. 49-51.

109-114. Compare *Purg.* xxi. 61-66.

131. *Dubbio* means a *question* or a *difficulty*, not a "doubt." *Natura* is taken here in a concrete sense, "a natural impulse." The word sometimes simply means "a thing." Compare i. 103 and 110, where *cose* and *nature* are used as equivalents.

PARADISO

BEATRICE, rejoicing in Dante's progress, explains the supreme gift of Free Will, shared by angels and men and by no other creature (1-24). Hence may be deduced the supreme significance of vows, wherein this Free Will, by its own act, sacrifices itself. Wherefore there can be nothing so august as to form a fitting substitute, nor any use of the once consecrated thing so hallowed as to excuse the breaking of the vow (25-33). And yet Holy Church grants dispensations (34-39). The explanation lies in the distinction between the content of the vow (the specific thing consecrated) and the act of vowing (40-45). The vow must in every case be kept, but he who has made it, may, under due authority, sometimes substitute for the specific content of the vow some other, worth half as much again; which last condition precludes any substitute for

Luna “ S’ io ti fiammeggio nel caldo d’ amore
di là dal modo che in terra si vede
sì che degli occhi tuoi vinco il valore,
non ti maravigliar ; chè ciò procede 4
da perfetto veder, che come apprende,
così nel bene appreso move il piede.
Io veggio ben sì come già risplende 7
nello intelletto tuo l’ eterna luce,
che, vista sola, sempre amore accende ;
e s’ altra cosa vostro amor seduce, 10
non è se non di quella alcun vestigio
mal conosciuto, che quivi traluce.
Tu vuoi saper, se con altro servizio, 13
per manco voto, si può render tanto,
che l’ anima sicuri di litigio.”
Sì cominciò Beatrice questo canto ; 16
e sì com’ uom che suo parlar non spezza,
continuò così il processo santo :

CANTO V

the complete self-dedication of monastic vows (46-63). And he who makes a vow such as God can not sanction, has in that act already done evil; to keep such a vow is only to deepen his guilt; and, kept or broken, it brings his religion into contempt (64-84). Dante's further questioning is cut short by their ascent to Mercury, which grows brighter at their presence. Here, in the star that scarce asserts itself, but is lost to mortals in the sun's rays, are the once ambitious souls, that now rejoice in the access of fresh objects of love. They approach Dante, and one of them, with lofty gratulations, offers himself as the vehicle of divine enlightenment. Dante questions him as to his history and the place assigned to him in heaven; whereon the spirit (Justinian) so glows with joy that his outward form is lost in light (85-139).

“If I flame on thee in the warmth of love, The
beyond the measure witnessed upon earth, and inconstant
so vanquish the power of thine eyes,

marvel not; for this proceedeth from perfect
vision, which, as it apprehendeth, so doth
advance its foot in the apprehended good.

Well do I note how in thine intellect already
doth reglow the eternal light, which only
seen doth ever kindle love;

and if aught else seduce your love, naught is it
save some vestige of this light, ill understood,
that shineth through therein.

Thou wouldst know whether with other service Broken
reckoning may be paid for broken vow, so great vows
as to secure the soul from process.”

So Beatrice began this chant, and, as one who
interrupteth not his speech, continued thus the
sacred progress:

- Luna “ Lo maggior don, che Dio per sua larghezza 19
fesse creando, ed alla sua bontate
più conformato, e quel ch’ ei più apprezza,
fu della volontà la libertate, 22
di che le creature intelligenti,
e tutte e sole furo e son dotate.
- Or ti parrà, se tu quinci argomenti, 25
l’ alto valor del voto, s’ è sì fatto,
che Dio consenta quando tu consenti ;
chè, nel fermar tra Dio e l’ uomo il patto, 28
vittima fassi di questo tesoro,
tal qual io dico, e fassi col suo atto.
- Dunque che render puossi per ristoro ? 31
Se credi bene usar quel ch’ hai offerto,
di mal tolletto vuoi far buon lavoro.
- Tu se’ omai del maggior punto certo ; 34
ma, perchè santa Chiesa in ciò dispensa,
che par contra lo ver ch’ io t’ ho scoperto,
convienti ancor sedere un poco a mensa, 37
però che il cibo rigido ch’ hai preso
richiede ancora aiuto a tua dispensa.
- Apri la mente a quel ch’ io ti paleso, 40
e fermalvi entro ; chè non fa scienza,
senza lo ritenere, avere inteso.
- Due cose si convengono all’ essenza 43
di questo sacrificio : l’ una è quella
di che si fa, l’ altra è la convenenza.
- Quest’ ultima giammai non si cancella, 46
se non servata, ed intorno di lei
sì preciso di sopra si favella ;
però necessità fu agli Ebrei 49
pur l’ offerere, ancor che alcuna offerta
si permutasse, come saper dei.

“The greatest gift God of his largess made at the creation, and the most conformed to his own excellence, and which he most prizeth, The inconstant Free will

was the will's liberty, wherewith creatures intelligent, both all and only, were and are endowed.

Now will appear to thee (if thence thou draw due inference) the high worth of the vow, if so made that God consent when thou consentest ;

for in establishing the compact between God and man, the victim is made from out this treasure, and vows such as I pronounce it, and made by its own act.

What may be rendered, then, as restoration ? If thou think to make good use of that which thou hadst consecrated, thou wouldst do good works from evil gains.

Thou art now assured as to the greater point ; but since holy Church granteth herein dispensations, which seemeth counter to the truth I have unfolded to thee,

it behoves thee still to sit a while at table, because the stubborn food which thou hast taken demandeth further aid for thy digestion.

Open thy mind to that which I unfold to thee, and fix it there within ; for to have understood without retaining maketh not knowledge.

Two things pertain to the essence of this sacrifice : first, that whereof it is composed, and then the compact's self.

This last can ne'er be cancelled save by being kept ; and concerning this it is that the discourse above is so precise ;

therefore it was imperative upon the Hebrews Dispensations to offer sacrifice in any case, though the thing offered might sometimes be changed, as thou shouldst know.

- Luna L' altra, che per materia t' è aperta, 52
puote bene esser tal, che non si falla,
se con altra materia si converta.
- Ma non trasmuti carco alla sua spalla 55
per suo arbitrio alcun, senza la volta
e della chiave bianca e della gialla ;
- ed ogni permutanza creda stolta, 58
se la cosa dimessa in la sorpresa,
come il quattro nel sei, non è raccolta.
- Però qualunque cosa tanto pesa 61
per suo valor, che tragga ogni bilancia,
satisfar non si può con altra spesa.
- Non prendan li mortali il voto a ciancia : 64
siate fedeli, ed a ciò far non bieci ;
come Jeptè alla sua prima mancia,
- cui più si convenia dicer : *Mal feci,* 67
che, servando, far peggio ; e così stolto
ritrovar puoi lo gran duca dei Greci,
- onde pianse Ifigenia il suo bel volto, 70
e fe' pianger di sè li folli e i savi,
ch'udir parlar di così fatto colto.
- Siate, Cristiani, a movervi più gravi, 73
non siate come penna ad ogni vento,
e non crediate ch' ogni acqua vi lavi.
- Avete il vecchio e il nuovo testamento, 76
e il pastor della Chiesa che vi guida :
questo vi basti a vostro salvamento.
- Se mala cupidigia altro vi grida, 79
uomini siate, e non pecore matte,
sì che il Giudeo di voi tra voi non rida.
- Non fate come agnel che lascia il latte 82
della sua madre, e semplice e lascivo
seco medesimo a suo piacer combatte."

The other thing, which hath been unfolded to thee as the matter, may in sooth be such that there is no offence if it be interchanged with other matter. The
Inconstant

But let none shift the load upon his shoulder at his own judgment, without the turn both of the white and of the yellow key;

and let him hold all changing to be folly, unless the thing remitted be contained in that assumed in four to six proportion.

Wherefore what thing soe'er weigheth so heavy in virtue of its worth as to turn every scale, can never be made good by any other outlay.

Let mortals never take the vow in sport; be loyal, and in doing this not squint-eyed; like as was Jephthah in his firstling vow; Evil vows

whom it had more become to say: *I did amiss*, than keep it and do worse; and in like folly mayst thou track the great chief of the Greeks, wherefore Iphigenia wept that her face was fair, and made simple and sage to weep for her, hearing of such a rite.

Ye Christians, be more sedate in moving, not like a feather unto every wind; nor think that every water cleanseth you.

Ye have the Old and the New Testament and the shepherd of the Church to guide you; let this suffice you, unto your salvation.

If sorry greed proclaim aught else to you, be men, not senseless sheep, lest the Jew in your midst should scoff at you. And evil
pardoners

Do not ye as the lamb who leaves his mother's milk, silly and wanton, fighting with himself for his disport."

- Salita Così Beatrice a me, com' io scrivo ; 85
 poi si rivolse tutta disiante
 a quella parte ove il mondo è più vivo.
- Lo suo tacere e il trasmutar sembante 88
 poser silenzio al mio cupido ingegno,
 che già nuove questioni avea davante.
- E sì come saetta, che nel segno 91
 percote pria che sia la corda queta,
 così corremmo nel secondo regno.
- Mercurio Quivi la donna mia vid' io sì lieta, 94
 come nel lume di quel ciel si mise,
 che più lucente se ne fe' il pianeta.
- E se la stella si cambiò e rise, 97
 qual mi fec' io, che pur di mia natura
 trasmutabile son per tutte guise !
- Come in peschiera, ch' è tranquilla e pura, 100
 traggoni i pesci a ciò che vien di fuori
 per modo che lo stimin lor pastura ;
- sì vid' io ben più di mille splendori 103
 trarsi ver noi, ed in ciascun s' udia :
Ecco chi crescerà li nostri amori.
- E sì come ciascuno a noi venia, 106
 vedeasi l' ombra piena di letizia
 nel fulgor chiaro che da lei uscia.
- Pensa, lettor, se quel che qui s' inizia 109
 non procedesse, come tu avresti
 di più sapere angosciosa carizia ;
- e per te vederai, come da questi 112
 m' era in disio d' udir lor condizioni,
 sì come agli occhi mi fur manifesti.
- “ O bene nato, a cui veder li Troni 115
 del trionfo eternal concede grazia,
 prima che la milizia s' abbandoni,

Thus Beatrice to me, as I write; then turned
 her all in longing to that part where the world
 quickeneth most. The
honour-
seeking

Her ceasing and her transmuted semblance en-
 joined silence on my eager wit, which already
 had new questionings before it.

And even as an arrow which smiteth the targe
 ere the cord be still, so fled we to the second
 realm.

There I beheld my Lady so glad, when to the
 light of this heaven she committed her, that
 the planet's self became the brighter for it.

And if the star was changed and laughed, what
 then did I, who of my very nature am sub-
 jected unto change through every guise!

As in a fish-pool still and clear, the fishes draw to Approach
of spirits
 aught that so droppeth from without as to make
 them deem it somewhat they may feed on,

so did I see more than a thousand splendours
 draw towards us, and in each one was heard:
Lo! one who shall increase our loves.

And as each one came up to us, the shade ap-
 peared full filled with joy, by the bright glow
 that issued forth of it.

Think, reader, if what I now begin proceeded
 not, how thou would'st feel an anguished
 dearth of knowing more,

and by thyself thou shalt perceive how it was in my
 longing to hear from these concerning their
 estate, soon as they were revealed unto my eyes.

“O happy-born, to whom grace concedeth to Justinian
 look upon the Thrones of the eternal triumph
 ere thou abandonest thy time of warfare,

- Mercurio** del lume che per tutto il ciel si spazia 118
 noi semo accesi: e però, se disii
 di noi chiarirti, a tuo piacer ti sazia.”
- Così da un di quelli spirti pii 121
 detto mi fu; e da Beatrice: “Di’, di’,
 sicuramente, e credi come a dii.”
- “Io veggio ben sì come tu t’annidi 124
 nel proprio lume, e che dagli occhi il traggi,
 perch’ei corruscan, sì come tu ridi;
 ma non so chi tu sei, nè perchè aggi, 127
 anima degna, il grado della spera,
 che si vela ai mortal con altrui raggi.”
- Questo diss’io diritto alla lumiera 130
 che pria m’avea parlato, ond’ella fessi
 lucente più assai di quel ch’ell’era.
- Sì come il sol, che si cela egli stessi 133
 per troppa luce, come il caldo ha rose
 le temperanze dei vapori spessi;
 per più letizia sì mi si nascose 136
 dentro al suo raggio la figura santa,
 e così chiusa chiusa mi rispose
 nel modo che il seguente canto canta. 139

23-4. Angels and men.

26-7. Compare iii. 101-2.

32, 33. ‘To apply to some *other* good purpose what has been vowed, would only be like giving the proceeds of oppression or plunder in charity.’

34. See lines 13-15.

51. Regulations as to substitution or “redemption” are found in *Exodus* xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20, and *Numbers* xviii. 15-18. But the subject is most fully treated in the last chapter of *Leviticus*.

57. In popular estimate, ‘the silver key of knowledge and the golden key of authority.’ But Aquinas says more accurately: “for either of these [*i.e.* to decide

by the light that rangeth through all heaven are we
 enkindled ; and therefore if thou desire to draw
 light from us, sate thee at thine own will.”

The
honour-
seeking

Thus by one of those devout spirits was said to
 me, and by Beatrice : “Speak, speak securely,
 and believe as thou would'st deities.”

“Verily, I see how thou dost nestle in thine own
 light, and that thou dost draw it through thine
 eyes, because they sparkle as thou smilest ;

Dante

but I know nor who thou art, nor why, O worthy
 soul, thou art graded in this sphere, which
 veileth it to mortals in another's rays.”

This I said, turned towards the light which
 first had spoken to me ; whereat it glowed
 far brighter yet than what it was before.

Like as the sun which hideth him by excess
 of light when the heat hath gnawed away the
 tempering of the thick vapours,

so by access of joy the sacred figure hid him in
 his own rays, and thus enclosed, enclosed,
 answered me in such fashion as chanteth the
 following chant.

that the penitent is fit to be absolved, and actually
 to absolve him] a certain power or authority is
 needed ; and so we distinguish between two keys,
 one pertaining to the judgment as to the fitness of
 him to be absolved, the other pertaining to the absolu-
 tion itself.” Compare *Purg.* ix. 118-126.

66-72. Both Jephthah (*Judges* xi.) and Agamemnon
 sacrificed their daughters.

79-84. ‘If ignorant and unauthorised ‘pardoners’
 and others tempt you to light-hearted vows and offer
 you easy terms of remission, do not be so senseless as
 to be misled by them. The blessing of the Christian
 dispensation is turned into a curse by such as do the

like, and the very Jews have a right to make a mock of them.' Compare xxix. 118-126.

87. The Equator is the swiftest part of the heaven (*Conv.* ii. 4: 52-62.) The equinoctial point is the germinal point of the Universe (*Parad.* x. 1-21). The sun is the source of all mortal life (*Parad.* xxii. 116). Dante's words may apply to any of the three; but since, at the date of the Vision, the sun is at the equinoctial point, they all coincide.



Fig. 10

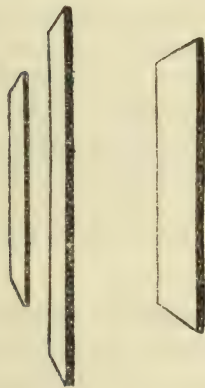
105. Cf. *Purg.* xv. 55-57, 71 *sqq.*

115. Compare viii. 34-39, *note*; and ix. 61 *note*.

117. The church on earth is *militant*; only in heaven *triumphant*.

124-126. The last reference to the features of a blessed spirit, as discerned by Dante, in any of the revolving spheres.

129. Mercury is so near the sun as to be seldom visible.



PARADISO

NOTE that Justinian, the Lawgiver, is the spokesman of the Roman Empire, whereby is indicated that the true significance of the Empire lies in its imposing and fostering the arts of peace. Justinian tells how Constantine removed the seat of Empire east from Rome to Byzantium, reversing the progress of Æneas west from Troy to Rome, and how he, Justinian, came to the throne two hundred years later (1-9). He was a believer in the divine but not in the human nature of Christ, till converted by Agapetus to the truth which he now sees as clearly as logicians see the axiomatic law of contradictories. After his conversion God inspired him with the project of codifying the Roman Law, and he resigned the conduct of war to Belisarius (10-27). He goes on to rebuke the Guelf and Ghibiline factions by shewing the august nature of the Roman Empire (28-33). In his exposition we note that the key of self-sacrifice is at once struck in the name of Pallas, the Etruscan-Greek volunteer who died for the Trojan cause, and is maintained till it leads up to the great

Mercurio “ Poscia che Costantin l’ aquila volse
 contra il corso del ciel, ch’ ella seguio
 dietro all’ antico, che Lavina tolse,
 cento e cent’ anni e più l’ uccel di Dio 4
 nell’ estremo d’ Europa si ritenne,
 vicino ai monti de’ quai prima uscio ;
 e sotto l’ ombra delle sacre penne 7
 governò il mondo lì di mano in mano,
 e sì cangiando in su la mia pervenne.
 Cesare fui, e son Giustiniano, 10
 che, per voler del primo amor ch’ io sento,
 d’ entro le leggi trassi il troppo e il vano ;

CANTO VI

struggles with Carthage and the East, and against internal factiousness (34-54); the founding of the Empire under Julius and Augustus and the establishment of universal peace (55-81); the great act of Redemption for which all was a preparation, and the subsequent fall of Jerusalem (82-93); and the Empire's championship of the Church which had been born under its protection (94-96). It is equally wicked, therefore, to think of opposing the Empire or of turning it to factious purposes (97-111). The story of Rome has been told in the star adorned by those souls whose virtuous deeds had in them some taint of worldly ambition or anxiety for good repute (112-117), but who are now free from all envious desire to have a greater reward, and rejoice rather in the harmony of which their estate is part (118-126). Here too is the lowly Romeo who was so disinterested but so sensitive concerning his reputation (127-142).

“After Constantine had wheeled back the eagle, The
honour-
seeking
counter to the course of heaven which it had followed in train of the ancient wight who took Lavinia,
a hundred and a hundred years and more the bird of God abode on Europe's limit, neighbouring the mountains whence he first had issued;
and there he governed the world beneath the shadow of his sacred wings from hand to hand till by succeeding change he came to mine.
Caesar I was, and am Justinian, who, by will of the Justinian
Primal Love which now I feel, withdrew from out the Laws excess and inefficiency;

- Mercurio e prima ch' io all' opra fossi attento, 23
una natura in Cristo esser, non piùde,
credeva, e di tal fede era contento ;
ma il benedetto Agapito, che fue 26
sommo pastore, alla fede sincera
mi dirizzò con le parole sue.
Io gli credetti, e ciò che in sua fede era 29
veggio ora chiaro, sì come tu vedi
ogni contraddizion è falsa e vera.
Tosto che con la Chiesa mossi i piedi, 32
a Dio per grazia piacque d' inspirarmi
l' alto lavoro, e tutto a lui mi diedi ;
ed al mio Bellisar commendai l' armi, 35
cui la destra del ciel fu sì congiunta,
che segno fu ch' io dovessi posarmi.
Or qui alla question prima s' appunta 38
la mia risposta ; ma sua condizione
mi stringe a seguitare alcuna giunta.
Perchè tu veggì con quanta ragione 41
si move contra il sacrosanto segno,
e chi 'l s' appropria, e chi a lui s' oppone,
vedi quanta virtù l' ha fatto degno 44
di reverenza, e cominciò dall' ora
che Pallante morì per dargli regno.
Tu sai che fece in Alba sua dimora 47
per trecent' anni ed oltre, infino al fine
che i tre ai tre pugnar per lui ancora.
E sai ch' ei fe' dal mal delle Sabine 50
al dolor di Lucrezia in sette regi,
vincendo intorno le genti vicine.
Sai quel ch' ei fe', portato dagli egregi 53
Romani incontro a Brenno, incontro a Pirro,
e contra gli altri principi e collegi :

and ere I fixed my mind upon the work, one **The**
 nature, and no more, I held to be in Christ, **honour-**
 and with such faith was I content ; **seeking**

but the blessed Agapetus, who was high pastor,
 to the faith without alloy directed me by his
 discourse.

Him I believed, and now the content of his faith
 I see as clear as thou dost see that every con-
 tradiction is both false and true.

So soon as with the Church I moved my feet, **The Code**
 God of his grace it pleased to inspire me with
 the high task, and all to it I gave me ;

and to my Belisarius committed arms ; to whom
 heaven's right-hand was so conjoined it was a
 signal I should rest me from them.

Now here already is my answer's close to thy
 first question ; but its conditions force me to
 go on to some addition.

That thou mayst see with how good right against
 the sacred standard doth proceed both he who
 doth annex it to himself and he who doth op-
 pose him to it,

see how great virtue hath made it worthy of re- **Rome**
 verence, beginning from the hour when Pallas
 died to give it sway.

Thou knowest that it made its sojourn in Alba
 for three hundred years and more, until the
 close, when three with three yet fought for it.

And thou knowest what it wrought from the **The Kings**
 Sabine women's wrong unto Lucretia's woe,
 through seven kings, conquering around the
 neighbour folk.

Thou knowest what it wrought, borne by the **The**
 chosen Romans against Brennus, against **Republic**
 Pyrrhus and against the rest, princes and
 governments ;

- Mercurio** onde Torquato, e Quinzio che dal cirro 46
 negletto fu nomato, i Deci, e' Fabi
 ebber la fama che volontier mirro.
- Esso atterrò l'orgoglio degli Arabi, 49
 che di retro ad Annibale passaro
 l' alpestre rocce, di che, Po, tu labi.
- Sott' esso giovinetti trionfaro 52
 Scipione e Pompeo, ed a quel colle,
 sotto il qual tu nascesti, parve amaro.
- Poi, presso al tempo che tutto il ciel volle 55
 ridur lo mondo a suo modo sereno,
 Cesare, per voler di Roma, il tolle :
- e quel che fe' da Varo infino al Reno, 58
 Isara vide ed Era e vide Senna,
 ed ogni valle onde Rodano è pieno.
- Quel che fe' poi ch' egli uscì di Ravenna, 61
 e saltò Rubicon, fu di tal volo
 che nol seguiteria lingua nè penna.
- In ver la Spagna rivolse lo stuolo ; 64
 poi ver Durazzo, e Farsalia percosse
 sì ch' al Nil caldo si sentì del duolo.
- Antandro e Simoenta, onde si mosse, 67
 rivide, e là dov' Ettore si cuba,
 e mal per Tolommeo poi si riscosse :
- da indi scese folgorando a Iuba ; 70
 poscia si volse nel vostro occidente,
 dove sentia la Pompeiana tuba.
- Di quel ch' ei fe' col baiulo seguente, 73
 Bruto con Cassio nello inferno latra,
 e Modena e Perugia fe' dolente.
- Piangene ancor la trista Cleopatra, 76
 che, fuggendogli innanzi, dal colubro
 la morte prese subitana ed atra.

whence Torquatus and Quinctius, named from his neglected locks, the Decii and the Fabii, drew the fame which I rejoice in thus embalming. The honour-seeking

It cast down the pride of the Arabs that followed Hannibal across the Alpine rocks, whence, Po, thou glidest.

Under it, Scipio and Pompey triumphed, yet in their youth, and bitter did it seem unto those hills beneath which thou wast born.

Then, nigh the time when all heaven willed to bring the world to its own serene mood, Cæsar
Cæsar, at Rome's behest, laid hold of it ;
and what it wrought from Var to Rhine knoweth Isère and Arar, knoweth Seine and every valley by which Rhone is filled.

What it then wrought when he issued forth of Ravenna and sprang the Rubicon, was of such flight that neither tongue nor pen might follow it.

Towards Spain it wheeled the host, then towards Durazzo, and so smote Pharsalia that to hot Nile was felt the woe.

Antandros and Simois, whence it first came, it saw once more, and saw the spot where Hector lieth couched ; and then (alas for Ptolemy !) ruffled itself again ;

thereafter swooped in lightning upon Juba, then wheeled to-wards your west, where it heard the Pompeian trumpet.

For what it wrought with the succeeding marshal Brutus and Cassius howl in hell ; and Modena and Perugia it made doleful. Augustus

Yet doth wail for it the wretched Cleopatra, who, as she fled before it, caught from the viper sudden and black death.

- Mercurio** Con costui corse infino al lito rubro ; 79
 con costui pose il mondo in tanta pace,
 che fu serrato a Jano il suo delubro.
- Ma ciò che il segno che parlar mi face 82
 fatto avea prima, e poi era fatturo,
 per lo regno mortal, ch' a lui soggiace,
 diventa in apparenza poco e scuro, 85
 se in mano al terzo Cesare si mira
 con occhio chiaro e con affetto puro ;
 chè la viva giustizia che mi spira 88
 gli concedette, in mano a quel ch' io dico,
 gloria di far vendetta alla sua ira.
- Or qui t' ammira in ciò ch' io ti replico ! 91
 Poscia con Tito a far vendetta corse
 della vendetta del peccato antico.
- E quando il dente Longobardo morse 94
 la santa Chiesa, sotto alle sue ali
 Carlo Magno, vincendo, la soccorse.
- Omai puoi giudicar di quei cotali 97
 ch' io accusai di sopra, e di lor falli,
 che son cagion di tutti vostri mali.
- L' uno al pubblico segno i gigli gialli 100
 oppone, e l' altro approprià quello a parte,
 sì che forte a veder è chi più falli.
- Faccian li Ghibellin, faccian lor arte 103
 sott' altro segno ; chè mal segue quello
 sempre chi la giustizia e lui diparte :
- e non l' abbatta esto Carlo novello 106
 coi Guelfi suoi, ma tema degli artigli
 ch' a più alto leon trasser lo vello.
- Molte fiate già pianser li figli 109
 per la colpa del padre ; e non si creda
 che Dio trasmuti l' arme per suoi gigli.

With him it coursed unto the Red-Sea shore, The
 with him it set the world in so deep peace honour-
 that Janus saw his temple barred upon him. seeking

But what the ensign that doth make me speak
 had done before, what it was yet to do through-
 out the mortal realm subject unto it,

becometh small and dusky to behold, if it be Tiberius
 looked upon in the third Cæsar's hand with
 clear eye and pure heart ;

for the living justice that inspireth me, granted it,
 in his hand of whom I speak, the glory of
 wreaking vengeance for his wrath.

Now find a marvel in the double thing I tell thee ! Titus
 Thereafter, under Titus, to wreak vengeance
 on the vengeance on the ancient sin it rushed.

And when the Lombard tooth bit into Holy Charle-
 Church, under its wings did Charlemagne magne
 victorious succour her.

Now mayst thou judge of such as I accused but
 now, and of their sins, which are the cause of
 all your ills.

The one opposeth to the public standard the yellow
 lilies, and the other doth annex it to a faction,
 so that 'tis hard to see which most offendeth.

Ply, ply the Ghibellines their arts under some Ghibellines
 other standard ! for this he ever followeth ill and Guelfs
 who cleaveth justice from it ;

and let not that new Charles down beat it with
 his Guelfs, but let him fear talons that have
 ripped its fell from mightier lion.

Many a time ere now have children wailed for
 father's fault, and let him not suppose God
 will change arms for those his lilies.

- Mercurio** Questa picciola stella si corredda 119
dei buoni spirti, che son stati attivi
perchè onore e fama li succeda ;
e quando li disiri poggian quivi 125
sì disviando, pur convien che i raggi
del vero amore in su poggin men vivi.
Ma, nel commensurar dei nostri gaggi 128
col merto, è parte di nostra letizia,
perchè non li vedem minor nè maggi.
Quindi addolcisce la viva giustizia 131
in noi l' affetto sì, che non si puote
torcer giammai ad alcuna nequizia.
Diverse voci fan giù dolci note ; 134
così diversi scanni in nostra vita
rendon dolce armonia tra queste rote.
E dentro alla presente margarita 137
luce la luce di Romeo, di cui
fu l' opra bella e grande mal gradita.
Ma i Provenzali che fer contra lui 139
non hanno riso, e però mal cammina
qual si fa danno del ben fare altrui.
Quattro figlie ebbe, e ciascuna regina, 143
Ramondo Beringhieri, e ciò gli fece
Romeo persona umile e peregrina ;
e poi il mosser le parole biece 146
a domandar ragione a questo giusto,
che gli assegnò sette e cinque per diece ;
indi partissi povero e vetusto ; 149
e se il mondo sapesse il cor ch' egli ebbe
mendicando sua vita a frusto a frusto,
assai lo loda, e più lo loderebbe." 152

This little star adorneth her with good spirits ^{The} who were active that honour and that fame ^{honour-seeking} might come to them ;

and when hereon desire, thus swerving, leaneth, needs must the rays of the true love mount upward with less life.

But in the commensuring of our rewards to our desert is part of our joy, because we see them neither less nor more.

Whereby the living justice so sweeteneth our affection that it may ne'er be warped to any malice.

Divers voices upon earth make sweet harmony, and so the divers seats in our life render sweet harmony amongst these wheels.

And within the present pearl shineth the light of ^{Romeo} Romeo, whose beauteous and great work was so ill answered.

But the Provençals who wrought against him have not the laugh ; wherefore he taketh an ill path who maketh of another's good work his own loss.

Four daughters, and each one a queen, had Raymond Berengar ; and this was wrought for him by Romeo, a lowly and an alien man ; then words uttered askance moved him to demand account of this just man, who gave him five and seven for every ten ;

then took his way in poverty and age ; and might the world know the heart he had within him, begging his life by crust and crust, much as it praiseth, it would praise him more."

1-9. Constantine reigned A.D. 306-337. Justinian A.D. 527-565. Constantinople is relatively near to the site of ancient Troy. Aeneas took Lavinia with her father's consent, though she was already betrothed to Turnus, King of the Latins.

10. His personality remains. His office is his no longer. Compare *Purg.* xix. 127-138.

13-18. The Monophysites accepted the divine nature of Christ only, not the human. The Empress Theodora persistently favoured them, and Justinian tolerated them till Agapētus, who was Pope A.D. 535-6, when on an embassy at Constantinople, induced him to depose Anthīmus, Bishop of Constantinople, on the ground of his being a Monophysite, whereon the other heads of the sect were likewise excommunicated.

19-21. Compare ii. 40-45. It is a cardinal point of Dante's belief that in the perfect state all *effort* both of will and intellect shall cease, while their *activity* reaches its highest point. Even truths that now seem paradoxical shall be seen as axioms, and the facts that now seem perplexing or distressing shall be felt as axiomatically right and beautiful. But unfathomed depths of the Divine Nature and Will shall ever remain, adored but uncomprehended. Compare *Parad.* xix. 40-57, xxi. 82-102, &c.

Both in this passage and in ii. 40-45 the union of the divine and human natures in Christ is the point which Dante declares will be as clear to souls in bliss as "the initial truth which man believeth," or is as clear to Justinian as that "every contradiction is both false and true." Now "the initial truth which man believeth" is not a generic term for axiomatic truth, but a specific reference to the "law of contradictories" on which the whole system of Aristotelian logic is built up. It asserts that the propositions: *This is so* and *this is not so* cannot both be true in the same sense and at the same time. Compare Wallace, § 30. And it follows immediately from this fundamental axiom, that of the two propositions "all A's are B's" and "some A's are not B's," or of the two propositions "no A's are B's" and "some A's are B's," one must be true and the other false. They cannot both be true or both false in the same sense at the same time. For example, if the pro-

position "some A's are not B's" be true, the proposition "all A's are B's" is false; for if not, take one of the A's that is not a B; now since all A's are B's, that particular A is a B; therefore that particular A both is and is not a B, which is impossible, *therefore*, &c. Propositions so related are called contradictory, and therefore every "contradiction" or "pair of contradictories" is "both false and true" axiomatically.

25. Belisarius (c. 505-565), by his campaigns against the Ostragoths, went far towards restoring the authority of the Empire in Italy. He subsequently fell into disfavour, and an exaggerated tradition represents him in beggary as the type of fallen greatness.

28. The question implied in *Parad.* v. 127.

31-96. Compare with this passage *Conv.* iv. 4, 5, and the whole of Bk. ii. of the *De Monarchia*. Compare also Virgil *Georgics*, ii. 167-172, and *Æneid*, vi. 756-854; and perhaps we should add the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, chap. xi. For Dante's attitude towards Guelphism and Ghibellinism generally, see Gardner i. 4, and Villani *Introduction*, § 6.

N.B. In the following summary the italicised words directly connect the narrative with the text of the canto.

Virgil, by a gracious fiction, represents the Trojan Æneas when he landed, fate-driven, on the shores of Italy, and was involved in war with Turnus, king of the Latins, as seeking and gaining the alliance of the Greek Evander, who had established a kingdom on the seven hills, afterwards to be the site of Rome. Evander's only son and heir, *Pallas*, led the band of volunteers and was slain by Turnus, but avenged by Æneas. The kingdom of the latter was founded, however, not on the seven hills, but at Lavinium, whence it was transferred by his son Ascanius to *Alba Longa* where it remained for *more than 300 years*, till, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius (B.C. 670-638), Alba fell under Rome, on the defeat of the *three* Alban champions, the Curatii, by the survivor of the *three* Roman champions, the Horatii; for meanwhile the Alban outcast, Romulus, had founded a camp of refuge on the Palatine (one of the seven hills), and had provided the desperadoes, who gathered there, with wives, by seizing the *Sabine women* who had come to attend the public

games. Under *him and his six successors* Rome gradually extended her power, till the outrage offered to *Lucretia* by Sextus, the son of the last king, so roused the indignation of the people that the monarchy was swept away (B.C. 510).

The long period of the Republic, up to the beginning of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul (B.C. 58) is passed over rapidly by Dante, without notice of constitutional and social struggles; but the main aspects of the outward history are dealt with by rapid and effective strokes. During this period Rome established her supremacy over the other Latin tribes, repelled invasions of Italy, both by civilized and barbarous peoples, and extended her dominion by counter invasions. Lucius *Quintius* Cincinnatus (from *cincinnus*=*a curl*), called from the plough to the dictatorship conquered the Æquians (B.C. 458); against *Brennus* (B.C. 390, etc.) and his Gauls, one of the *Fabii*, and Titus Manlius *Torquatus* (as well as others, notably Camillus) distinguished themselves. The *Decii*,—father, son and grandson,—died self-devoted deaths in serving against the Latins (B.C. 340), the Samnites (B.C. 295) and the Greek invader Pyrrhus (B.C. 280); while the greatest of all the *Fabii*, Quintus *Fabius* Maximus (Cunctator), saved Rome from *Hannibal* who crossed the *Alps* and victoriously invaded Italy in B.C. 218, in which same year *Scipio* Africanus (the Elder), a boy of seventeen, won military fame by saving his father's life at the defeat of Ticinus. It was he who subsequently organised the counter invasion of Africa which compelled Hannibal to withdraw from Italy. Cf. xxvii. 61 seq. [Note the anachronism by which Dante calls the northern Africans *Arabs*.]

By a great leap Dante now brings us to the achievements of *Pompey*, the great conqueror of the eastern kings and queller of the faction of Marius. He celebrated a triumph *when not yet twenty-five* (B.C. 81). After a passing reference to the mythical exploits of the great Romans in reducing Fiesole *which overhangs Florence*, and which was the refuge of Catiline (Villani i. 31-37), we find ourselves following the career of *Caesar* preparatory to the founding of the Roman Empire. Lines 58-60 refer to the campaigns in *Gaul* (B.C. 58-50); lines 61-63 to Caesar's crossing the

Rubicon (B.C. 49) between Ravenna and Rimini, thereby leaving his province, without orders from the Senate, and so formally beginning the civil war. In the same year he overcame formidable opposition in *Spain*, and next year unsuccessfully besieged Pompey in *Dyracchium*, and then utterly defeated him at *Pharsalia* in Thessaly. Pompey escaped to *Egypt*, where he was treacherously slain by Ptolemy (lines 64-66). Caesar crossed the Hellespont and, says Lucan, visited the Troad (Cf. l. 6). He took *Egypt* from *Ptolemy* and gave it to Cleopatra, subdued *Juba* king of Numidia who had protected his opponents after *Pharsalia* and then returned to *Spain* (B.C. 45) where *Pompey's sons* had raised an army (lines 67-72). After the murder of Caesar his nephew Augustus defeated Marc Antony at *Modena* (B.C. 43); then, with Antony as his ally, defeated his uncle's assassins, *Brutus* and *Cassius* (cf. *Inf.* xxxiv.) at *Philippi* (B.C. 42), and afterwards Antony's brother *Lucius* at *Perugia* (B.C. 41). In B.C. 31 at Actium he finally defeated his rival Marc Antony, who soon afterwards committed suicide, and his example was followed by his paramour *Cleopatra*, who died by the tooth of a *viper* (lines 76-78). This made Augustus master of the whole Roman Empire to the remotest ends of *Egypt*, and the temple of *Janus*, the gates of which were always open in war-time, was, for the third time only in the history of Rome, closed in sign of universal peace. Heaven "had brought the world to its own serene mood" (line 56), and all was ready for the birth of *Christ* (lines 79-81), who was crucified under *Tiberius*, the successor of Augustus, whereby the sin of human nature at the fall was avenged (lines 82-90). Jerusalem fell, under *Titus*, whereby the sin of slaying Christ was avenged on the Jews (lines 91-93).

The epilogue of the defence of the Church by Charlemagne against the Lombard king *Desiderius*, whom he dethroned in A.D. 774 produces a disjointed effect upon the modern reader, but would seem natural enough to Dante and his contemporaries (see *Argument*).

88-90. Compare *De Monarchia*, ii. 13.

91-93. See next Canto.

97-99. Compare lines 31-33.

100, 101. The Guelfs oppose the French arms and influence to the Empire. The Ghibellines take the name of the Empire in vain for factious purposes.

106-108. Carlo Zoppo (= Charles the lame), of Anjou, titular King of Jerusalem (see xix. 127), and actual King of Naples and head of the Guelfs of Italy. Dante is never weary of expressing his contempt for him. There seems to be no specific reference in line 108. Many a mightier lion than Cripple Charles had had his fell torn off his back by the Imperial Eagle.

109-111. A forecast perhaps of some miseries that actually fell on the descendants of Charles, and of others which Dante vainly anticipated. Compare ix. 1-6.

127-142. See Villani, vi. 90.

Raymond Berengar IV. of Provence (reigned 1209-1245), to be distinguished from his contemporary and opponent Raymond VII. of Toulouse (reigned 1222-1249), was notorious for his liberality and his patronage of poets and other men of genius. His daughter, Margaret, married Louis IX. of France (St. Louis). Eleanor married Henry III. of England. Sancha married Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall; and Beatrice, his youngest daughter, whom he made his heiress, married Charles of Anjou after her father's death. Raymond's able and upright chamberlain, Romeo of Villeneuve (1170-1250), is also an historical character; but his name, Romeo, is the current term for one who has made a pilgrimage to Rome, or a pilgrim generally (see *Vita Nuova*, xli. 34-52). Hence arose the romantic legend recorded by Villani, and here followed by Dante. "There came to his [Raymond Berengar's] court a certain Romeo, who was returning from S. James', and hearing the goodness of Count Raymond abode in his court, and was so wise and valorous, and came so much into favour with

the Count, that he made him master and steward of all that he had. . . . Four daughters had the Count and no male child. By prudence and care the good Romeo first married the eldest for him to the good King Louis of France by giving money with her, saying to the Count, 'Leave it to me, and do not grudge the cost, for if thou marriest the first well thou wilt marry all the others the better for the sake of her kinship and at less cost.' And so it came to pass; for straightway the King of England, to be of kin to the King of France, took the second with little money; afterwards his carnal brother, being the king elect of the Romans, after the same manner took the third; the fourth being still to marry the good Romeo said, 'For this one I desire that thou should'st have a brave man for thy son, who may be thine heir,'—and so he did. Finding Charles, Count of Anjou, brother of King Louis of France, he said, 'Give her to him for he is like to be the best man in the world,' prophesying of him: and this was done. And it came to pass afterwards through envy, which destroys all good, that the barons of Provence accused the good Romeo that he had managed the Count's treasure ill, and they called upon him to give an account. The worthy Romeo said, 'Count, I have served thee long while, and raised thy estate from small to great, and for this, through the false counsel of thy people, thou art little grateful: I came to thy court a poor pilgrim, and I have lived virtuously here; give me back my mule, my staff, and my scrip, as I came here, and I renounce thy service.' The Count would not that he should depart; but, for nought that he could do would he remain; and, as he came so he departed, and no one knew whence he came or whither he went. But many held that he was a sainted soul."

PARADISO

IN significant connection with the Empire comes the treatment of the Redemption, the chief theological discourse in the Paradiso. Justinian and the other spirits vanish with hymns of triumph (1-9). Dante would fain ask a question, but when he raises his head to speak, he is overcome by awe, and bends it down again (10-15). Beatrice reads his thought, and bids him give good heed to her discourse (16-24). After man's fall, the Word of God united to himself in his own person the once pure now contaminated human nature. That human Nature bore on the cross the just penalty of its sin, but that divine Person suffered by the same act the supremest outrage. At the act of justice God rejoiced and heaven opened. At the outrage the Jews exulted and the earth trembled; and vengeance fell upon Jerusalem (25-51). But why this method of redemption? (52-57). Only those who love can understand the answer. God's love ungrudgingly reveals itself, and whatever it creates without intermediary is immortal, free, and god-like. Such was man till made unlike God by sin, and so disfranchised (58-81),

Mercurio "*Osanna sanctus Deus Sabaoth,
superillustrans claritate tua
felices ignes horum malachoth !*"

Così, volgendosi alla nota sua, 4
fu viso a me cantare essa sustanza,
sopra la qual doppio lume s' addua :
ed essa e l' altre mossero a sua danza, 7
e, quasi velocissime faville,
mi si velar di subita distanza.

Io dubitava, e dicea : "Dille, dille," 10
fra me, "dille," diceva, "alla mia donna
che mi disseta con le dolci stille ;"

CANTO VII

only to be reinstated by a free pardon, or by full atonement (82-93). But man cannot humble himself below what he is entitled to, as much as he had striven to exalt himself above it; and therefore he cannot make atonement (94-102). So God must reinstate man; and since "all the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth," God proceeded both by the way of mercy, and by the way of truth or justice, since by the incarnation man was made capable of reinstating himself (103-120). Beatrice further explains that the elements and their compounds are made not direct by God, but by angels, who also draw the life of animal and plant out of compound matter that has the potentiality of such life in it; whereas first matter, the angels, and the heavens are direct creations of God; and so were the bodies of Adam and Eve, which were therefore immortal, save for sin; as are therefore the bodies of the redeemed who are restored to all the privileges of unfallen man (121-148).

"Hosannah! Holy God of Sabaoth! making
lustrous by thy brightness from above the
blessed fires of these kingdoms!"

The
honour-
seeking

So, revolving to its own note, I saw that being
sing, on whom the twin lights double one
another:

and it and the others entered on their dance,
and like most rapid sparks, veiled them from
me by sudden distance.

I, hesitating, said, "speak to her, speak to her,"
within myself, "speak to her," I said, "to my
lady who slaketh my thirst with the sweet drops;"

Mercurio ma quella riverenza che s' indonna 13
 di tutto me, pur per BE e per ICE,
 mi richinava come l'uom ch' assonna.
 Poco sofferse me cotal Beatrice, 16
 e cominciò, raggiandomi d' un riso
 tal, che nel foco faria l'uom felice :
 " Secondo mio infallibile avviso, 19
 come giusta vendetta giustamente
 vengiata fosse, t' ha in pensier miso ;
 ma io ti solverò tosto la mente : 22
 e tu ascolta, chè le mie parole
 di gran sentenza ti faran presente.
 Per non soffrire alla virtù che vuole 25
 freno a suo prode, quell' uom che non nacque,
 dannando sè, dannò tutta sua prole ;
 onde l' umana specie inferma giacque 28
 giù per secoli molti in grande errore,
 fin ch' al Verbo di Dio di scender piacque,
 u' la natura, che dal suo Fattore 31
 s' era allungata, unio a sè in persona
 con l' atto sol del suo eterno amore.
 Or drizza il viso a quel ch' or si ragiona : 34
 Questa natura al suo Fattore unita,
 qual fu creata, fu sincera e buona ;
 ma per sè stessa fu ella sbandita 37
 di Paradiso, però che si torse
 da via di verità e da sua vita.
 La pena dunque che la croce porse, 40
 s' alla natura assunta si misura,
 nulla giammai sì giustamente morse ;
 e così nulla fu di tanta ingiura, 43
 guardando alla persona che sofferse,
 in che era contratta tal natura.

but that reverence which all o'ermastereth me, The
 though but by Be or Ice, again down-bowed honour-
 me, as a man who slumbers. seeking

Short time Beatrice left me thus; and began,
 casting the ray upon me of a smile such as
 would make one blessed though in the flame:

“According to my thought that cannot err, how
 just vengeance justly was avenged, hath set
 thee pondering;

but I will speedily release thy mind; and do
 thou hearken, for my words shall make thee
 gift of an august pronouncement.

Because he not endured for his own good a rein The fall
 upon the power that wills, that man who ne'er
 was born, as he condemned himself, condemned
 his total offspring;

wherefore the human race lay sick down there
 for many an age, in great error, till it pleased
 the Word of God to descend

where he joined that nature which had gone astray
 from its Creator to himself, in person, by sole
 act of his eternal Love.

Now turn thy sight to what I now discourse:
 This nature, so united to its Maker, as it was
 when created was unalloyed and good;

but by its own self had it been exiled from
 Paradise, because it swerved from the way of
 truth, and from its proper life.

As for the penalty, then, inflicted by the cross,— The
 if it be measured by the Nature taken on, crucifixion
 never did any other bite as justly;

and, in like manner, ne'er was any so outrageous
 if we look to the Person who endured it, in
 whom this nature was contracted.

- Mercurio** Però d' un atto uscir cose diverse ; 46
chè a Dio ed ai Giudei piacque una morte :
per lei tremò la terra e il ciel s' aperse.
- Non ti dee oramai parer più forte, 49
quando si dice che giusta vendetta
poscia vengiata fu da giusta corte.
- Ma io veggi' or la tua mente ristretta 52
di pensier in pensier dentro ad un nodo,
del qual con gran disio solver s' aspetta.
- Tu dici : ' Ben discerno ciò ch' i' odo ; 55
ma, perchè Dio volesse, m' è occulto,
a nostra redenzion pur questo modo.'
- Questo decreto, frate, sta sepulto 58
agli occhi di ciascuno, il cui ingegno
nella fiamma d' amor non è adulto.
- Veramente, però ch' a questo segno 61
molto si mira, e poco si discerne,
dirò perchè tal modo fu più degno.
- La divina bontà, che da sè sperne 64
ogni livore, ardendo in sè scintilla
sì, che dispiega le bellezze eterne.
- Ciò che da lei senza mezzo distilla 67
non ha poi fine, perchè non si move
la sua impronta, quand' ella sigilla.
- Ciò che da essa senza mezzo piove 70
libero è tutto, perchè non soggiace
alla virtute delle cose nuove.
- Più l' è conforme, e però più le piace ; 73
chè l' ardor santo, ch' ogni cosa raggia,
nella più simigliante è più vivace.
- Di tutte queste cose s' avvantaggia 76
l' umana creatura, e, s' una manca,
di sua nobilità convien che caggia.

So from one act issued effects apart ; God and the Jews rejoiced in one same death ; thereat shuddered the earth and heaven opened. The honour-seeking

No more, now, should it seem hard saying to thee that just vengeance was afterward avenged by a just court.

But now I see thy mind from thought to thought entangled in a knot, from which, with great desire, it release awaiteth.

Thou sayest, *Yea, what I hear I understand ; but why God willed for our redemption this only mode, is hidden from me.* The redemption

This decree, my brother, is buried from the eyes of everyone whose wit is not matured within love's flame.

But since this target much is aimed at, and discerned but little, I will declare why such mode was more worthy.

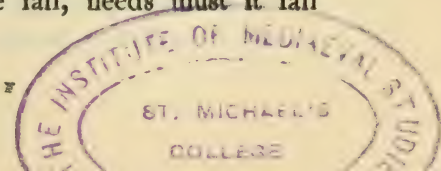
The divine excellence, which spurns all envy from it, burning within itself shooteth such sparkles out as to display the eternal beauties.

That which distilleth from it without mean, thereafter hath no end ; because its imprint may not be removed when it hath stamped the seal. Unfallen man

That which down raineth from it without mean, is all free, because not subject to the power of changing things.

It is more close conformed to it, therefore more pleasing to it ; for the sacred glow that rayeth over everything, in that most like itself is the most living.

All these points of vantage hath the human creature, and should one fail, needs must it fall from its nobility.



- Mercurio** Solo il peccato è quel che la disfranca,
e falla dissimile al sommo bene,
per che del lume suo poco s' imbianca;
ed in sua dignità mai non riviene,
se non riempie dove colpa vota,
contra mal dilettrar, con giuste pene. 79
- Vostra natura, quando peccò tota
nel seme suo, da queste dignitadi,
come da Paradiso fu remota;
nè ricovrar poteansi, se tu badi
ben sottilmente, per alcuna via,
senza passar per l' un di questi guadi : 82
- o che Dio, solo per sua cortesia,
dimesso avesse, o che l' uom per sè isso
avesse soddisfatto a sua follia. 85
- Ficca mo l' occhio per entro l' abisso
dell'eterno consiglio, quanto puoi
al mio parlar distrettamente fisso. 88
- Non potea l' uomo nei termini suoi
mai satisfacer, per non poter ir giuso
con umiltate, ubbidendo poi,
quanto disubbidiendo intese ir suso ; 91
- e questa è la cagion perchè l' uom fue
da poter satisfacer per sè dischiuso. 94
- Dunque a Dio convenia con le vie sue
riparar l' uomo a sua intera vita,
dico con l' una, o ver con ambo e due. 97
- Ma perchè l' opra è tanto più gradita
dell' operante, quanto più appresenta
della bontà del core ond' è uscita ; 100
- la divina bontà, che il mondo imprenta,
di proceder per tutte le sue vie
a rilevarvi suso fu contenta ; 103
- 106
- 109

Sin only is the thing that doth disfranchise it, and maketh it unlike to the highest good, so that its light the less doth brighten it ;

The
honour-
seeking

and to its dignity it ne'er may come again,
except it fill again where fault hath made a
void, against the ill delight setting just penalty.

Your nature, when it sinned in its totality in its first seed, from these dignities, even as from Paradise, was parted ;

Paradise
Lost

nor might they be recovered, if thou look right
keenly, by any way save passing one or the
other of these fords :

either that God, of his sole courtesy, should have
remitted ; or that man should of himself have
given satisfaction for his folly.

Fix now thine eye within the abyss of the eternal
counsel, as close attached as e'er thou mayest
to my discourse.

Man had not power, within his own boundaries,
ever to render satisfaction ; since he might not go
in humbleness by after-obedience so deep down
as in disobedience he had framed to exalt himself on
high ; and this the cause why from the power to
render satisfaction by himself man was shut off.

Wherefore needs must God with his own ways
reinstate man in his unmaimed life, I mean
with one way or with both the two.

Justice and
mercy

But because the doer's deed is the more gracious
the more it doth present us of the heart's
goodness whence it issued,

the divine Goodness which doth stamp the
world, deigned to proceed on all his ways to
lift you up again ;

- Mercurio nè tra l' ultima notte e il primo die 112
sì alto e sì magnifico processo,
o per l' una o per l' altra fu o fie :
chè più largo fu Dio a dar sè stesso, 115
a far l' uom sufficiente a rilevarsi,
che s'egli avesse sol da sè dimesso ;
e tutti gli altri modi erano scarsi 118
alla giustizia, se il Figliuol di Dio
non fosse umiliato ad incarnarsi.
Or, per empierti bene ogni disio, 121
ritorno a dichiarare in alcun loco,
perchè tu veggi lì così com' io.
Tu dici: ' Io veggio l' acqua, io veggio il foco, 124
l' aer e la terra, e tutte lor misture
venire a corruzione, e durar poco ' ;
e queste cose pur fur creature ; 127
per che, se ciò ch' ho detto è stato vero,
esser dovrien da corruzione sicure.
Gli angeli, frate, e il paese sincero 130
nel qual tu sei, dir si posson creati,
sì come sono, in loro essere intero ;
ma gli elementi che tu hai nomati 133
e quelle cose che di lor si fanno,
da creata virtù sono informati.
Creata fu la materia ch' egli hanno, 136
creata fu la virtù informante
in queste stelle, che intorno a lor vanno.
L' anima d' ogni bruto e delle piante 139
di complession potenziata tira
lo raggio e il moto delle luci sante.
Ma vostra vita senza mezzo spira 142
la somma beninanza, e la innamora
di sè, sì che poi sempre la disira.

nor between the last night and the first day was, ^{The}
 nor shall be, so lofty and august a progress ^{honour-}
 made on one or on the other ; ^{seeking}

for more generous was God in giving of himself
 to make man able to uplift himself again, than
 had he only of himself granted remission ;

and all other modes fell short of justice, except ^{The}
 the Son of God had humbled him to become ^{incarnation}
 flesh.

Now, to fill full for thee every desire, I go back
 to explain a certain passage, that thou may'st
 there discern e'en as do I.

Thou sayest : *I see the water, I see the fire, the
 air, the earth, and all their combinations meet
 their dissolution and endure but little ;*

and yet these things were creatures, so that if
 that which I have said to thee be true, they
 ought to be secure against corruption.

The Angels, brother, and the unsullied country ^{Creation}
 in which thou art, may be declared to be created,
 even as they are, in their entire being ;

but the elements which thou hast named and
 all the things compounded of them, have by
 created virtue been informed.

Created was the matter which they hold, created
 was the informing virtue in these stars which
 sweep around them.

The life of every brute and of the plants is
 drawn from compounds having potency, by
 the ray and movement of the sacred lights.

But your life is breathed without mean by the su- ^{Resurrec-}
 preme beneficence who maketh it enamoured of ^{tion of the}
 itself, so that thereafter it doth ever long for it. ^{body}

Mercurio E quinci puoi argomentare ancora 145
 vostra resurrezion, se tu ripensi
 come l'umana carne fessi allora
 che li primi parenti intrambo fensi." 148

5, 6. Justinian, on whom the glory of Lawgiver and the glory of Emperor combine their lights, each one making the other its twin.

14. He is awed by anything that is so much as a fragment of Beatrice's name.

15. Compare iii. 6.

19-21. See vi. 91-93.

25. Compare xxvi. 115-117, *note*.

30-33. Note the reference to the Three Persons of the Trinity in *Word, Creator, Love*. The like references abound throughout the poem. Further, compare line 31 with xxxiii. 4-9.

40-42. Compare *De Monarchia*, ii. 13. This doctrine of Dante's that human nature, in its totality, was *judicially executed* on the Cross seems to be peculiar to himself.

64-66. The connection is close, though not obvious. Beatrice goes back to the creation in order to explain the state from which man fell; and begins by declaring that the Divine Goodness was moved to utter itself in creation by an impulse of love, and had no jealous reserve in communicating its own august attributes. Compare xxix. 13-18, *note*.

67. For the distinction between mediate and immediate creation, see lines 130-144 of this canto.

71. True freedom consists in being subject only to the eternal truth of things, not to the dominion of changing appearances. Compare *Purg.* xvi. 79-81. But there is a difficulty here, for amongst the primal group of direct creations are the material heavens and the *prima materia*, or undifferentiated material potentiality, which is the possibility of everything but the actuality of nothing. Compare xxix. 22-36. The heavens can only be called free in the sense that they follow out their nature unimpeded, not in the higher sense of having free choice. Compare v. 19-24. And the *prima materia* can scarcely claim freedom in any

And hence thou further may'st infer your resurrection, if thou think again how was the making of the human flesh then when the first parents both of them were formed." The honour-seeking

sense, nor exemption from the dominion of changing things. Still less has it any special conformity of nature to the Divine (line 73). No solution of this difficulty suggests itself. It would appear as though Dante had not the full range of "direct creations" under his view at the moment, and was thinking only of angels and men, and possibly the material heavens.

79-120. It is in this section of the discourse that the influence (direct or indirect) of Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* is most conspicuous. Anselm teaches that actually (though not in intention) Adam's disobedience was an injury to himself, not at all to God (*cf.* line 80 of this canto), and that what was demanded, therefore, was not a propitiation or a ransom, but a restoration (*cf.* 82); which must be brought about by man giving what he did not owe in measure equal to that in which he had seized what he did not own (compare 83, 84), which is impossible, since he owes everything and owns nothing (compare 97, 98). Hence the being who alone owns that which he does not owe must become the being who alone stands in need of making such an unowed offering, *i.e.* God must become man (compare 115-117). See the *Cur Deus homo* passim, and (to avoid misconception) especially Bk. i. cap. 15.

103-105. Compare *Psalm* xxv. 10.

115-120. It will appear from a comparison of the *De Monarchia*, ii. 13, that Beatrice means 'God determined to be merciful, but did better than remit the fault, for he made man capable of redeeming it. And he determined to be just, and therefore he assumed the whole of human nature into one person (his own) in order that it might collectively pay the penalty of its sin.'

124-129. See lines 67-69. 'Why, then, do these creations of God (the elements and things compounded of them) perish?'

132. Not only in their essential or ideal quality, but

in their whole concrete being, just as they are. Compare i. 2, *note*.

133-141. The *prima materia* is *informed* (i.e. so combined with a "form" or ideal and essential principle as to pass from the possibility of being *anything* to the actuality of being *something*) not direct by God, but by created powers, i.e. angels or heavenly influences. The transforming and vivifying power of the sun (and in lesser degree the moon) was supposed to have its analogies in equally real but less obvious influences of the other heavenly bodies, especially the planets. It is these heavenly influences collectively that draw the "soul" or *life* of plant (nutritive and reproductive) or animal (sensitive and locomotive) from the stage of potentiality

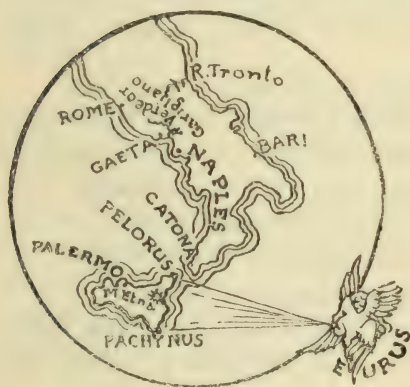


To Canto VIII. 58-60.

in the germinal material into that of actuality in the living thing itself.

142-144. Compare *Purg.* xxv., especially lines 61-75. In *Conv.* iii. 6: 45-57, another and less orthodox doctrine seems to be taught.

145. Hence, i.e. 'from the distinctions now drawn'; for the bodies both of Adam and Eve were made immediately by God, and when the work of redemption is finally consummated (after the last judgment) man's body will be restored to the dignity which it lost only by sin. The argument is Anselm's. He meets the obvious objection that it does not cover the case of the "resurrection unto wrath," by urging that if the saved rejoice both in body and soul, it is but fitting that the lost should suffer in both.



To Canto VIII. 61-63, 67-69.

PARADISO

THE planet Venus and ancient idolatry (1-15). All angels, heavens and blessed spirits, from the Seraphim nearest God outwards, are twined in one concerted cosmic dance; this dance the spirits in Venus leave to minister to Dante, singing *Hosannah* as they come; and one of them declares their kinship of movement and of love with the celestial Beings to whom he had once addressed his love hymn (16-39). Dante, with Beatrice's sanction, asks who the spirit is, and he with a flash of joy reveals himself as Dante's friend, Carlo Martello, once heir to the lordship of Provence and the kingdom of Naples, and actual king of Hungary, though Sicily had revolted from his house in consequence of that ill government against which his brother, Robert of Naples, mean offspring of a generous sire, would do well to take warning (40-84). Dante's joy in meeting his friend is increased by the knowledge that it is seen as clearly by that friend

Venere Solea creder lo mondo in suo periclo
che la bella Ciprigna il folle amore
raggiasse, volta nel terzo epiclo :
per che non pure a lei facean onore 4
di sacrificio e di votivo grido
le genti antiche nell' antico errore,
ma Dione onoravano e Cupido, 7
quella per madre sua, questo per figlio,
e dicean ch' ei sedette in grembo a Dido ;
e da costei, ond' io principio piglio, 10
pigliavan il vocabol della stella
che il sol vagheggia or da coppa, or da ciglio.
Io non m' accorsi del salire in ella ; 13
ma d' esservi entro mi fece assai fede
la donna mia, ch' io vidi far più bella.

CANTO VIII

as by himself, and further, by the thought that it is in God that it is thus discerned (85-90). He asks him how it is that degenerate children can spring from noble parents (91-93). Carlo explains that for every natural attribute of any being there is provision of a corresponding good, and that since God is perfect and has made his ministers perfect for their offices, it follows that there is a fit place for everything and everyone, for which place it is designed and at which it is aimed (94-114). The social relations of man demand diversity of gift, which diversity is provided for by the action of the heavens on human natures, but without regard to descent, so that natural heredity is overruled by celestial influences (115-135). Whereas we in assigning a man's place to him give heed only to hereditary position or such-like irrelevancies instead of studying his natural gift. Hence general confusion and incompetency (136-148).

The world was wont to think in its peril that the fair Cyprian rayed down mad love, rolled in the third epicycle ; The amorous
 wherefore not only to her did they do honour of sacrifice and votive cry, those ancient folk in the ancient error,
 but Dione did they honour, and Cupid, the one as her mother, the other as her son, and told how he had sat in Dido's lap ; Idolatry
 and from her from whom I take my start, they took the name of the star which courts the sun, now from the nape, now from the brow.
 I had no sense of rising into her, but my lady gave me full faith that I was there, because I saw her grow more beautiful.

- Venere E come in fiamma favilla si vede, 16
 e come in voce voce si discerne,
 quando una è ferma e l'altra va e riede ;
 vid' io in essa luce altre lucerne 19
 muoversi in giro più e men correnti,
 al modo, credo, di lor viste eterne.
 Di fredda nube non disceser venti, 22
 o visibili o no, tanto festini,
 che non paressero impediti e lenti
 a chi avesse quei lumi divini 25
 veduti a noi venir, lasciando il giro
 pria cominciato in gli alti Serafini.
 E dentro a quei che più innanzi appariro, 28
 sonava *Osanna* sì che unque poi
 di riudir non fui senza disiro.
 Indi si fece l' un più presso a noi, 31
 e solo incominciò : “ Tutti sem presti
 al tuo piacer, perchè di noi ti gioi.
 Noi ci volgiam coi Principi celesti 34
 d' un giro, e d' un girare, e d' una sete,
 ai quali tu del mondo già dicesti :
Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete ; 37
 e sem sì pien d' amor che per piacerti
 non fia men dolce un poco di quiete.”
 Poscia che gli occhi miei si furo offerti 40
 alla mia donna riverenti, ed essa
 fatti gli avea di sè contenti e certi,
 rivolversi alla luce, che promessa 43
 tanto s' avea, e : “ Di' chi siete ? ” fue
 la voce mia di grande affetto impressa.
 E quanta e quale vid' io lei far piùe 46
 per allegrezza nuova che s' accrebbe,
 quand' io parlai, all' allegrezze sue !

And as we see a spark within a flame, and as a ^{The} voice within a voice may be distinguished, if one ^{amorous} stayeth firm, and the other cometh and goeth ; so in that light itself I perceived other torches moving in a circle more and less swift, after the measure, I suppose, of their eternal vision. From a chill cloud there ne'er descended blasts, or visible or no, so rapidly as not to seem hindered and lagging

to whoso should have seen those lights divine advance towards us, quitting the circling that hath its first beginning in the exalted Seraphim.

And within those who most in front appeared, ^{Blessed} *Hosannah* sounded in such wise that never since ^{spirits} have I been free from longing to re-hear it.

Then one drew himself more nigh to us, and alone began : " All we are ready at thy will, that thou mayst have thy joy of us.

We roll with those celestial Princes in one circle ^{Carlo} and in one circling and in one thirst, to whom ^{Martello} thou from the world didst sometime say :

Ye who by understanding give the third heaven motion, and so full of love are we that, to pleasure thee, a space of quiet shall be no less sweet to us."

When mine eyes had been raised in reverence to my Lady, and she had satisfied them with herself and given them assurance,

they turned them back to the light which so ^{Dante} largely had made proffer of itself, and, " Say who ye be," was my word, with great affection stamped.

Ah ! how I saw it wax in quantity and kind at the new joy which, when I spoke, was added to its joys !

- Venere Così fatta mi disse : “ Il mondo m’ ebbe 49
giù poco tempo ; e, se più fosse stato,
molto sarà di mal, che non sarebbe.
- La mia letizia mi ti tien celato, 52
che mi raggia dintorno, e mi nasconde
quasi animal di sua seta fasciato.
- Assai m’ amasti, ed avesti bene onde ; 55
chè, s’ io fossi giù stato, io ti mostrava
di mio amor più oltre che le fronde.
- Quella sinistra riva che si lava 58
di Rodano, poi ch’ è misto con Sorga,
per suo signore a tempo m’ aspettava ;
e quel corno d’ Ausonia, che s’ imborga 61
di Bari, di Gaeta e di Catona,
da ove Tronto e Verde in mare sgorga.
- Fulgeami già in fronte la corona 64
di quella terra che il Danubio riga
poi che le ripe tedesche abbandona ;
e la bella Trinacria, che caliga 67
tra Pachino e Peloro, sopra il golfo
che riceve da Euro maggior briga,
non per Tifeo, ma per nascente solfo, 70
attesi avrebbe li suoi regi ancora,
nati per me di Carlo e di Ridolfo,
se mala signoria, che sempre accora 73
li popoli soggetti, non avesse
mosso Palermo a gridar : *Mora, mora.*
- E se mio frate questo antivedesse, 76
l’ avara povertà di Catalogna
già fuggiria, perchè non gli offendesse ;
chè veramente provveder bisogna 79
per lui, o per altrui, sì ch’ a sua barca
carcata più di carico non si pogna.

Thus changed, it said to me : " The world held The
me below but little space ; had it been more amorous
much ill shall be that had not been.

My joy holdeth me concealed from thee, raying Carlo
around me, and hideth me like to a creature
swathed in its own silk.

Much didst thou love me, and thou hadst good
cause ; for had I stayed below I had shown thee
a further growth of love than the mere leaves.

That left bank which is bathed by Rhone after Provence
it hath mingled with Sorgue, me for its timely
lord awaited ;

so did that corner of Ausonia, down from where Apulia
Tronto and Verde discharge into the sea,
cited by Bari, Gaeta and Catona.

Upon my brow already glowed the crown of Hungary
the land the Danube watereth after it hath
left its German banks ;

and fair Trinacria which darkeneth between Sicily
Pachynus and Pelorus, o'er the gulf tor-
mented most by Eurus,

(not for Typhæus, but for sulphur that ariseth
there) would yet have looked to have its kings,
sprung through me from Charles and Rudolf,
had not ill lordship, which doth ever cut the
heart of subject peoples, moved Palermo to
shriek out : *Die ! die !*

And had my brother seen it in good time, he Robert of
would already flee the greedy poverty of Sicily
Catalonia, lest it should work him ill ;

and of a truth provision needs be made by him
or by another, lest on his barque already laden
heavier load be laid.

- Venere La sua natura, che di larga parca
 discese, avria mestier di tal milizia
 che non curasse di mettere in arca.” 82
- “Però ch’ io credo che l’ alta letizia 85
 che il tuo parlar m’ infonde, signor mio,
 là ’ve ogni ben si termina e s’ inizia,
 per te si veggia, come la vegg’ io, 88
 grata m’ è più, e anco questo ho caro,
 perchè il discerni rimirando in Dio.
 Fatto m’ hai lieto, e così mi fa chiaro, 91
 poichè, parlando, a dubitar m’ hai mosso,
 come uscir può di dolce seme amaro.”
- Questo io a lui; ed egli a me: “S’ io posso 94
 mostrarti un vero, a quel che tu domandi
 terrai il viso come tieni il dosso.
- Lo ben che tutto il regno che tu scandi 97
 volge e contenta, fa esser virtute
 sua provvidenza in questi corpi grandi;
 e non pur le nature provvedute 100
 son nella mente ch’ è da sè perfetta,
 ma esse insieme con la lor salute.
- Per che quantunque questo arco saetta 103
 disposto cade a provveduto fine,
 sì come cosa in suo segno diretta.
- Se ciò non fosse, il ciel che tu cammine 106
 produrrebbe sì li suoi effetti,
 che non sarebbero arti, ma ruine;
 e ciò esser non può, se gl’ intelletti 109
 che movon queste stelle non son manchi,
 e manco il primo che non gli ha perfetti.
- Vuoi tu che questo ver più ti s’ imbianchi?” 112
 Ed io: “Non già, perchè impossibil veggio
 che la natura, in quel ch’ è uopo, stanchi.”

His nature,—mean descendant from a generous ^{The} forebear,—were in need of soldiery who should ^{amorous} not give their care to storing in the chest.”

“Sire, in that I believe the lofty joy which ^{Dante} thy discourse poureth into me, there where every good hath end and hath beginning is seen by thee even as I see it, ’t is more grateful to me ; and this too I hold dear, that thou discernest it looking on God.

Thou hast rejoiced me, now enlighten me ; for in speaking thou hast moved me to question how from sweet seed may come forth bitter.”

Thus I to him ; and he to me : “If I can ^{Carlo} show a certain truth to thee, thou wilt get before thine eyes the thing thou askest just as thou hast it now behind thy back.

The Good which doth revolve and satisfy the whole realm thou art climbing, maketh its providence become a virtuous power in these great bodies ;

and not only is provision made for the diverse-natured creatures, by the mind that is perfection in itself, but for their weal too, co-related with them.

Wherefore whate’er this bow dischargeth doth alight disposed to a provided end, even as a thing directed to its mark.

Were this not so, the heaven thou art traversing would so bring its effects to being, that they would be not works of art, but ruins ;

and this may not be, if the intellects which move these stars be not defective, and defective, too, that primal one which failed to perfect them.

Wouldst thou that this truth be more illuminated ?”

And I : “Not so, for I see ’tis impossible that nature, in the needful, should fall short.”

Venere Ond' egli ancora : " Or di', sarebbe il peggio 115
 per l' uomo in terra se non fosse cive? "
 " Sì, rispos' io, e qui ragion non cheggio. "
 " E può egli esser, se giù non si vive 118
 diversamente per diversi uffici?
 No, se il maestro vostro ben vi scrive. "
 Sì venne deducendo insino a quici; 121
 poscia conchiuse : " Dunque esser diverse
 convien dei vostri effetti le radici :
 per che un nasce Solone, ed altro Xerse, 124
 altro Melchisedech, ed altro quello
 che volando per l' aere il figlio perse.
 La circular natura, ch' è suggello 127
 alla cera mortal, fa ben sua arte,
 ma non distingue l' un dall' altro ostello.
 Quindi addivien ch' Esaù si diparte 130
 per seme da Iacob, e vien Quirino
 da sì vil padre che si rende a Marte.
 Natura generata il suo cammino 133
 simil farebbe sempre ai generanti,
 se non vincessse il provveder divino.
 Or quel che t' era retro t' è davanti; 136
 ma perchè sappi che di te mi giova,
 un corollario voglio che t' ammanti.
 Sempre natura, se fortuna trova 139
 discorde a sè, come ogni altra semente
 fuor di sua region, fa mala prova.
 E se il mondo laggiù ponesse mente 142
 al fondamento che natura pone,
 seguendo lui, avria buona la gente.
 Ma voi torcete alla religione 145
 tal che fia nato a cingersi la spada,
 e fate re di tal ch' è da sermone ;
 onde la traccia vostra è fuor di strada. " 148

Whence he again: "Now, say, would it be ^{The} worse for man on earth were he no citizen?" ^{amorous}

"Yea," I replied, "and here I ask no reason."

"And may that be, except men live below diversely and with diverse offices? No, if your master write the truth for you."

Up to this point he came deduction-wise; then the conclusion: "Therefore must needs the roots of your effects be diverse;

wherefore is one born Solon and one Xerxes, ^{Heredity and influence of the Heavens} one Melchizedek, and one the man who, soaring through the welkin, lost his son.

That which in circling hath its nature, and is the seal upon the mortal wax, plieth aright its art, but maketh not distinction between one or other tenement.

Wherefore it cometh that Esau severeth himself in seed from Jacob, and Quirinus cometh of so base father that he is assigned to Mars.

The begotten nature would ever take a course like its begetters, did not divine provision overrule.

Now that which was behind thee is before; but that thou mayst know that I delight in thee, I will have a corollary wrap thee round.

Ever doth nature, if she find fortune unharmonious with herself, like any other seed ^{Capacity and office} out of its proper region, make an ill essay.

And if the world down there took heed to the foundation nature layeth, and followed it, it would have satisfaction in its folk.

But ye wrench to a religious order him born to gird the sword, and make a king of him who should be for discourse; wherefore your track runneth abroad the road."

1-9. See iv. 61-63 and *note*; and also "Dante's Paradise" at the end of this volume.

22, 23. Visible and invisible blasts=lightning and wind. "And it also appears that lightnings are winds kindled or enflamed by the swiftness of their motion." And again "Because a hot exhalation, when it mounts up, strikes a cold and moist region, and it comes to pass that it is cast earthwards and chilled with a certain coldness, and a downward direction is given to it" *Averroes*.

34-39. When Dante wrote the ode here referred to (see *Conv.* ii., *Canzone*) he believed, with Brunetto Latini, that the angels who presided over the Heaven of Venus belonged to the order of *Thrones*. See *Conv.* ii. 6: 109. He afterwards followed "Dionysius" in assigning



To Cantos VIII. and XIX.

them to the order of *Principalities*. See xxviii. 125. "Princes" in line 34 may be equivalent to "Principalities" and so imply the correction, but since both terms are generic (see *Conv.* ii. 6; 40) this need not be so. In ix. 61, still in the planet Venus, there is a reference to *Thrones* so specific that one would take it to indicate Dante's continued belief in the special connection between *Thrones* and the planet Venus, were it not that in v. 115, in the planet Mercury, there is a similar specific reference to *Thrones*. The apparent confusion is not easy to remove. For a suggested solution see xxviii. 103-5, *note*.

49-84. On Charles Martel, see ix. 1-6, *note*. See also maps on pp. 88 and 89, and on the opposite page.

52-54. The illustration of a silk-worm in its cocoon corresponds closely to representations, in early Italian art, of souls surrounded by a yellow glory.

63. From this, together with *Purg.* iii. 131, it has been inferred that the R. Garigliano was formerly known as the Verde.

85-90. The distinction is subtle but real. 'I rejoice that you see it (which you do, in God), and I rejoice that it is in God (and not otherwise) that you see it.'

97-99. Compare ii. 112 *sqq.* *note*.

103-105. Compare i. 119 and xxix. 24.

120. Aristotle. See *Wallace* 68-70.

124, 5. Lawgiver, soldier, priest. Melchizedek is the priest *par excellence*, because he offered "bread and wine." See *Gen.* xiv. 18.

126. Dædalus, the typical mechanician. *Inf.* xvii. 109.

127. The heavens.



To Canto IX.

PARADISO

CHARLES, after a note of warning, turns again to God, whom we so impiously neglect (1-12). Cunizza approaches; she describes the site of Romano whence she and the tyrant Ezzelin, her brother, sprang. She tells how her past sins no longer trouble her (13-36). She speaks of the fair fame on earth of the troubadour Folco, and laments that no such fame is now sought by her countrymen of Venetia; whose woes she predicts and whose crimes she denounces; and then seeming no longer to heed Dante drops again into her place in the cosmic dance (37-66). Folco now flashes brighter in Dante's sight, and at his entreaty diverts his voice from its place in the universal song (which, like the universal dance, takes its note from the Seraphim) to minister to his special need (67-81). He indicates his birth place of Marseilles (82-93). He tells of his amorous youth (94-102)

Venere Da poi che Carlo tuo, bella Clemenza,
m' ebbe chiarito, mi narrò gl' inganni
che ricever dovea la sua semenza;
ma disse: "Taci, e lascia volger gli anni"; 4
sì ch' io non posso dir, se non che pianto
giusto verrà di retro ai vostri danni.
E già la vita di quel lume santo 7
rivolta s' era al sol che la riempie,
come quel ben ch' ad ogni cosa è tanto.
Ahi, anime ingannate, e fatture empie, 10
che da sì fatto ben torcete i cori,
drizzando in vanità le vostre tempie!
Ed ecco un altro di quelli splendori 13
ver me si fece, e il suo voler piacermi
significava nel chiarir di fuori.

CANTO IX

but shows how in heaven there is no repentance, because the sin is only seen or remembered as the occasion of the act of God by which the fallen one was uplifted again into his true element: and it is on this divine power and grace that the soul's whole thought and love are centred (103-108). He points out to Dante the light of Rahab, speaks of this heaven as just within the range of the cone of the earth's shadow, thereby indicating that the place of these souls in heaven is, in part, determined by the earthly sin that is now no longer in their minds; refers to Rahab's help given to Joshua in conquering the Holy Land, and denounces the Pope for his indifference to its recovery (109-126). It is devil-planted Florence that corrupts the world, both shepherd and flock, by her *florins* (127-138). But vengeance shall not lag (139-142).

When thy Charles, fair Clemence, had en-
lightened me, he told me of the frauds his
seed was destined to encounter ;

The
amorous,
Clemence

but added: "Hold thy peace, and let the years
revolve"; so that I can say naught, save that
wailing well-deserved shall track your wrongs.

And already the life of that sacred light had
turned to the sun that filleth it, as to the good
ample for all things.

Ah! souls deceived, ah! creatures impious, who
from such good wry-twist your hearts,
squaring your temples unto vanity!

And lo, another of those splendours drew him
towards me, and signified his will to pleasure
me, by brightening outwardly.

- Venere** Gli occhi di Beatrice, ch' eran fermi 16
sopra me, come pria, di caro assenso
al mio disio certificato fermi.
- “ Deh metti al mio voler tosto compenso, 19
beato spirto, dissi, e fammi prova
ch' io possa in te rifletter quel ch' io penso.”
- Onde la luce che m' era ancor nuova, 22
del suo profondo, ond' ella pria cantava,
seguette, come a cui di ben far giova :
- “ In quella parte della terra prava 25
Italica, che siede tra Rialto
e le fontane di Brenta e di Piava,
si leva un colle, e non surge molt' alto, 28
là donde scese già una facella,
che fece alla contrada un grande assalto.
- D' una radice nacqui ed io ed ella ; 31
Cunizza fui chiamata, e qui refulgo,
perchè mi vinse il lume d' esta stella.
- Ma lietamente a me medesima indulgo 34
la cagion di mia sorte, e non mi noia,
che parria forse forte al vostro vulgo.
- Di questa luculenta e cara gioia 37
del nostro cielo, che più m' è propinqua,
grande fama rimase, e, pria che moia,
questo centesim' anno ancor s' incinqua. 40
Vedi se far si dee l' uomo eccellente,
sì ch' altra vita la prima relinqua !
- E ciò non pensa la turba presente, 43
che Tagliamento ed Adice richiude,
nè per esser battuta ancor si pente.
- Ma tosto fia che Padova al palude 46
cangerà l' acqua che Vicenza bagna,
per esser al dover le genti crude.

Beatrice's eyes, fixed on me as before, of dear **The**
 assent to my desire assured me. **amorous**

"Nay ! make swift counterpoise unto my will," I
 said, "thou blessed spirit, and give proof that I
 can cast reflection upon thee of what I think."

Whereat the light which was new to me, from
 out its depth, wherein it first was singing, went
 on as one rejoicing to do well :

"In that region of the depraved Italian land **Cunizza**
 which sitteth 'twixt Rialto and the springs of
 Brenta and Piave,

riseth a hill, lifted to no great height, whence erst
 came down a firebrand that made a dire
 assault upon the country.

Out of one root spring I with it ; **Cunizza** was **Ezzelino**
 I called, and here I glow because the light of **of Romano**
 this star overcame me.

But joyously I grant myself indulgence for the
 occasion of my lot, nor doth it grieve me,
 which would seem, mayhap, hard saying to
 your common herd.

Of this shining and dear gem of our heaven, **Folce**
 which most doth neighbour me, great fame
 remaineth, and ere it shall perish

this centenary year shall be five times repeated.
 See if a man should make himself excel, so
 that the first life leave another after !

And of this thinketh not the present crowd that
 Tagliamento and Adige enclose ; the which,
 though smitten, yet repenteth not.

But soon shall come to pass that Padua at the pool
 shall change the water that doth bathe Vicenza,
 because the folk are stubborn against duty.

- Venere** E dove Sile e Cagnan s' accompagna, 49
 tal signoreggia e va con la testa alta,
 che già per lui carpir si fa la ragna.
- Piangerà Feltro ancora la diffalta 52
 dell' empio suo pastor, che sarà sconda
 sì che per simil non s' entrò in Malta.
- Troppo sarebbe larga la bigoncia 55
 che ricevesse il sangue Ferrarese,
 e stanco chi il pesasse ad oncia ad oncia,
 che donerà questo prete cortese, 58
 per mostrarsi di parte; e cotai doni
 conformi fieno al viver del paese.
- Su sono specchi, voi dicete Troni, 61
 onde rifulge a noi Dio giudicante,
 sì che questi parlar ne paion buoni."
- Qui si tacette, e fecemi sembiante 64
 che fosse ad altro volta, per la rota
 in che si mise, com' era davante.
- L' altra letizia, che m' era già nota 67
 preclara cosa, mi si fece in vista
 qual fin balascio in che lo sol percota.
- Per letiziar lassù folgor s' acquista, 70
 sì come riso qui; ma giù s' abbuia
 l' ombra di fuor, come la mente è trista.
- "Dio vede tutto, e tuo veder s' inluia, 73
 diss' io, beato spirto, sì che nulla
 voglia di sè a te puote esser fuia.
- Dunque la voce tua, che il ciel trastulla 76
 sempre, col canto di quei fochi pii
 che di sei ali fannosi cuculla,
 perchè non satisface ai miei disii? 79
 Già non attenderei io tua domanda,
 s' io m' intuassi, come tu t' immii."

And where Sile meets Cagnano, one holdeth **The**
 sway and goeth with uplifted head to catch **amorous**
 whom even now the net is being woven.

A wail shall yet arise from Feltro for the **Richard**
 trespass of its impious pastor, which shall be so **and**
 foul that for the like none ever entered Malta. **Alexander**

Too ample were the charger which should
 receive Ferrara's blood, and weary who
 should weigh it ounce by ounce,

which this obliging priest shall give to prove
 himself a partisan; and such-like gifts shall
 suit the country's way of life.

Aloft are mirrors,—ye name them Thrones,—
 whence God in judgment shineth upon us so
 that these words approve themselves to us."

Here she was silent, and to me her semblance
 was of one who turneth him to other heeding,
 judging as by the wheel whereto she gave
 herself, like as she was before.

The other joy, noted already to me as a thing **Folco**
 illustrious, shone in my sight like a fine ruby
 that the sun should strike.

By joy up there brightness is won, just as a smile
 on earth; but down below darkeneth the shade
 externally as the mind saddeneth.

"God seeth all, and into him thy seeing **Dante**
 sinketh," said I, "blessed spirit, so that no
 wish may steal itself from thee.

Then wherefore doth thy voice, which gladdeneth
 Heaven ceaselessly,—together with the singing
 of those Flames devout, which make themselves
 a cowl with the six wings,—

not satisfy my longings? Not till now had I
 awaited thy demand, were I in thee even as
 thou art in me."

- Venere** “ La maggior valle in che l’ acqua si spanda, 82
 incominciario allor le sue parole,
 fuor di quel mar che la terra inghirlanda,
 tra i discordanti liti, contra il sole 85
 tanto sen va che fa meridiano
 là dove l’ orizzonte pria far suole.
 Di quella valle fu’ io littorano 88
 tra Ebro e Macra, che, per cammin corto,
 lo Genovese parte dal Toscano.
 Ad un occaso quasi e ad un orto 91
 Buggea siede e la terra ond’ io fui,
 che fe’ del sangue suo già caldo il porto.
 Folco mi disse quella gente, a cui 94
 fu noto il nome mio, e questo cielo
 di me s’imprenta, com’ io fei di lui;
 chè più non arse la figlia di Belo, 97
 noiendo ed a Sicheo ed a Creusa,
 di me, in fin che si convenne al pelo;
 nè quella Rodopeia, che delusa 100
 fu da Demofoonte, nè Alcide
 quando Iole nel cor ebbe richiusa.
 Non però qui si pente, ma si ride, 103
 non della colpa, ch’ a mente non torna,
 ma del valor ch’ ordinò e provide.
 Qui si rimira nell’ arte che adorna 106
 cotanto effetto, e discernesi il bene
 per che al mondo di su quel di giù torna.
 Ma perchè le tue voglie tutte piene 109
 ten porti, che son nate in questa spera,
 procedere ancor oltre mi conviene.
 Tu vuoi saper chi è in questa lumiera, 112
 che qui appresso me così scintilla,
 come raggio di sole in acqua mera.

“The greatest valley in which water stretcheth,”
 then began his words, “forth from that sea
 which garlandeth the earth,

The
 amorous

betwixt opposing shores, against the sun, goeth
 so far that it meridian maketh of what was
 first horizon.

Of this valley was I a shoresman, midway 'twixt
 the Ebro and the Macra, which, with short
 course, parteth the Genoese and Tuscan.

Marseilles

Almost alike for sunset and for sunrise the site of
 Bougiah and of the place I spring from, which
 with its blood once made the harbour warm.

Folco they called me to whom my name was
 known, and this heaven is stamped by me,
 as I was stamped by it ;

for Belus' daughter, wronging alike Sichæus and
 Creüsa, did not more burn than I, so long as
 it consorted with my locks ;

nor yet the Rhodopeian maid who was deluded
 by Denophoön, neither Alcides when he had
 shut Iole in his heart.

Yet here we not repent, but smile ; not at the
 sin, which cometh not again to mind, but at
 the Worth that ordered and provided.

No
 repentance
 in Heaven

Here gaze we on the Art that beautifieth its so great
 effect, and here discern the Good which bringeth
 back the world below unto the world above.

But that thou mayst bear away full satisfied all
 the desires born within this sphere, needs must
 I yet proceed.

Thou wouldst know who is within that light
 which here by me so sparkleth as the sun's
 ray in pure water.

- Venere** Or sappi che là entro si tranquilla 115
 Raab, ed a nostr' ordine congiunta
 di lei nel sommo grado si sigilla.
- Da questo cielo, in cui l' ombra s' appunta 118
 che il vostro mondo face, pria ch' altr' alma
 del trionfo di Cristo fu assunta.
- Ben si convenne lei lasciar per palma 121
 in alcun cielo dell' alta vittoria,
 che s' acquistò con l' una e l' altra palma ;
- perch' ella favorò la prima gloria 124
 di Josuè in su la Terrasanta,
 che poco tocca al papa la memoria.
- La tua città, che di colui è pianta 127
 che pria volse le spalle al suo Fattore,
 e di cui è la invidia tanto pianta,
- produce e spande il maledetto fiore 130
 ch' ha disviate le pecore e gli agni,
 però che fatto ha lupo del pastore.
- Per questo l' Evangelio e i dottor magni 133
 son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali
 si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni.
- A questo intende il papa e i cardinali : 136
 non vanno i lor pensieri a Nazzalette,
 là dove Gabriello aperse l' ali.
- Ma Vaticano e l' altre parti elette 139
 di Roma, che son state cimiterio
 alla milizia che Pietro seguette,
 tosto libere fien dell' adulterio." 142

1-6. Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, conquered Naples and Sicily from Manfred, son of Frederick II., and became Charles I. Towards the end of his life his misgovernment of Sicily caused the massacre known as the " Sicilian Vespers " (A.D. 1282) and the loss of

Now know that there within hath Rahab peace ; The
and when she joined our order, it stamped **amorous,**
itself with her in the highest grade. **Rahab**

By this heaven,—touched by the shadow's point
which your world casteth,—ere other soul
was she uptaken from Christ's triumph.

And soothly it beseemed to leave her as a trophy,
in some heaven, of the lofty victory which was
achieved with the one and the other palm ;

because she favoured Joshua's first glory in the
Holy Land, which little toucheth the Papal
memory.

Thy city,—of his planting who first turned his **Florence**
shoulders on his Maker, and from whose envy
hath such wailing sprung,—

maketh and spreadeth that accursed flower which
hath set sheep and lambs astray, for it hath
turned the shepherd to a wolf.

Therefore it is the Gospel and great Doctors are
deserted, and only the Decretals are so studied,
as may be seen upon their margins.

Thereon the Pope and Cardinals are intent ;
ne'er wend their thoughts to Nazareth, where
Gabriel spread his wings.

But Vatican, and the other parts elect of Rome,
the cemetery of the soldiery that followed
Peter, shall soon be freed from the adultery."

Sicily (viii. 73-75) Villani vii. 61. His son Charles II.
(see vi. 106-108 and *note*. Dante nowhere else allows
him the generosity ascribed to him in viii. 82) was the
father of a numerous family, including Dante's friend,
Charles Martel, who died before his father (1295);

and Robert. Charles married Clemence, daughter of the Emperor Rudolph; hence the allusion in viii. 72. He visited Florence in the last year of his life, and it was probably then that Dante formed his acquaintance. On his death his son, Caroberto, became heir to the throne of Naples; but his uncle Robert (known as Robert the Wise), supported by Charles II.'s will, ousted him from the succession. This was in 1309. At the date of the vision, therefore, Robert could not yet have been abusing his powers as king; but according to Charles (viii. 76), he was already preparing to do so by cultivating the Spanish friendships he had formed when a hostage in Spain, and so laying the train for oppression of the much enduring Apulia by the instrumentality of Spanish favourites. As to the Clemence of line 1 there has been much discussion. It would be natural to suppose that she is Charles's wife. It was her son Caroberto that Robert of Naples had excluded from the succession to Naples and Provence; and to her and her son, therefore, the "*vostri danni*" of line 6 would naturally apply. But the date of her death is given in recent commentaries as 1301, long before the time at which these words were written; and evidence has now been produced to show that she really died in 1295, as indeed several of the early commentators declare; and in that case she had been dead some years before the assumed date of the vision, 1300. This would make the direct address to her in line 1 difficult, and the implied communication in lines 2-6 well nigh impossible. And yet the only alternative seems still more difficult to accept, namely, that the Clemence addressed was Charles's daughter who married Louis X., *le Hutin* (cf. Villani, ix. 66), and was living in 1328. This Clemence was in no special way wronged by the proceedings of Robert, nor is it easily conceivable that Dante in speaking of a father to a daughter would call him "*thy Charles*." The reader must take his choice between these two impossibilities. As to the woes that are said to be approaching, we note that since no conspicuous disaster had overtaken Robert, Dante has to fall back upon general forebodings of evil.

20, 21. By answering before I ask.

29, 30. The hideous tyrant Ezzelino da Romano

(Compare *Inf.* xii. 109, 110); whose mother dreamed she gave birth to a firebrand that consumed the whole district.

33-36. Her amours with Sordello were specially notorious. In 1265 (when she was about 67 years old) she executed a deed of manumission, conferring formal freedom on a number of slaves (who probably had already secured the reality) in the house of Dante's friends the Cavalcanti. It is therefore possible that Dante was in possession of private sources of information as to penitence in closing years, an edifying end, grateful dependents who prayed for the departed soul, etc. No such knowledge, however, except that she had a certain reputation for humanity, has reached the world at large, and the scandalised protest which Dante anticipated and defied has not failed to make itself heard!

46-48. A much discussed passage, which probably refers to the defeats inflicted on the Paduans at Vicenza by Can Grande of Verona (see Villani, ix. 63) in and about 1314. 'Paduan blood shall dye the Bacchiglione red because of Paduan resistance to the Empire.'

49-51. Riccardo da Cammino, Lord of Treviso. He was murdered in 1312. He was the son of the "Good Gherard" (*Purg.* xvi. 124-140, *Conv.* iv. 14: 111-130), and the husband of Judge Nino's daughter Giovanna (*Purg.* viii. 71).

53. Alessandro Novello, Bishop of Feltre, 1298-1320. In 1314 he surrendered certain Ghibelline refugees from Ferrara to Pino della Tosa, King Robert's vicar there, who executed them.

54. A papal prison on lake Bolsēna, or perhaps in Viterbo.

61. Compare viii. 34-39. xxviii. 103-105, *notes*. "For they are called *Thrones* by whom God doth exercise his judgments" Gregory, quoted by Aquinas.

66. Compare viii. 25-27.

76-78. Compare viii. 25-27. *Argument*. Compare *Isaiah* vi. 2.

85-93. At Gibraltar, where the Mediterranean flows out of the ocean, the sun (according to Dante's geography) is on the horizon when it is noon-day on the Levant. Thus the stretch of the sea makes zenith at

its end of what is horizon at its beginning; *i.e.* it extends over a quadrant. See map on p. 101.

93. When Cæsar's fleet won a victory over the Pompeians in B.C. 49. Cf. *Purg.* xviii. 102.

94. Folco of Marseilles was a Troubadour (fl. 1180-1195), and afterwards a Cistercian monk. As bishop of Toulouse (1205-1231) he took a leading part in the infamous Albigensian Crusades.

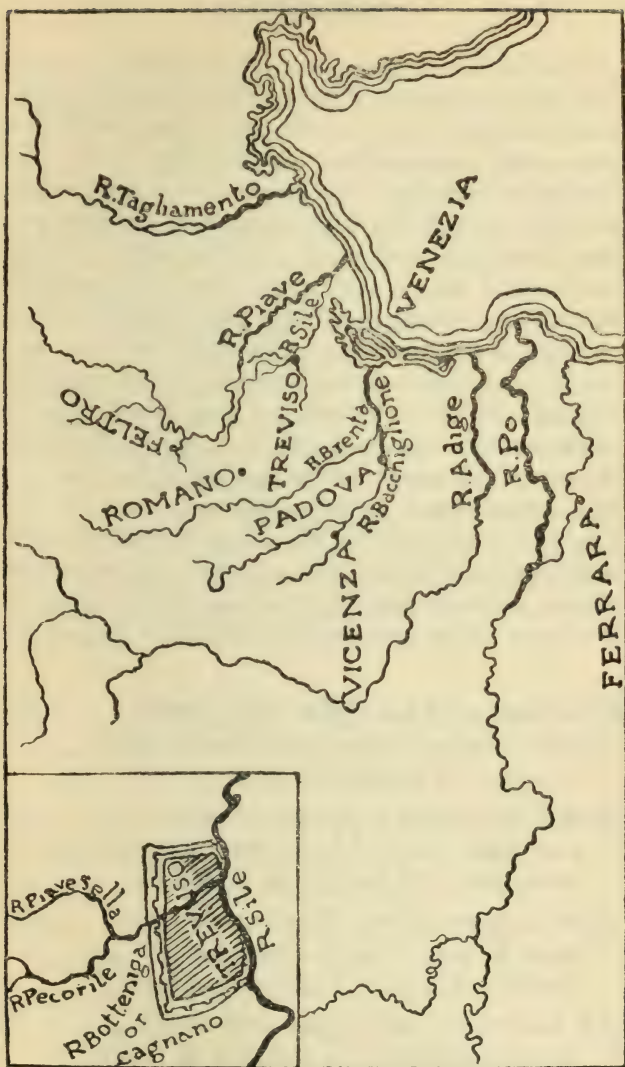
97. Dido, whose love for Æneas wronged the memory of her husband Sichæus and of his wife Crëüsa.

100, 101. Phyllis, beloved of Demophoön the son of Theseus and Phedra, was the daughter of the Thracian king Sithon, and hence is called Rhodopeian, after the mountain Rhodöpe in Thrace. According to Ovid, Demophoön ultimately returned to keep his plighted faith, but Phyllis had already slain herself in despair at his protracted absence.

102. Iöle was the last love of Hercules (Alcides). On hearing of this attachment, Dejanira, the wife of Hercules, sent him the fatal shirt of Nessus, thus causing his death. Nessus the Centaur had offered an insult to Dejanira as he was bearing her across a stream, and Hercules shot him. As he expired he told Dejanira that the garment, steeped in his blood, would have the power of winning back the affections of Hercules if ever they wandered from her. It is this vengeance of the Centaur which is referred to by Dante in *Inf.* xii. 67-69.

126. Rebukes the slackness of the Pope in face of the capture of Acre by the Saracens in 1291, after which the Christians had no foothold in the Holy Land. Cf. *Villani* vii. 145.

134-5. Compare *Parad.* xii. 83. There was money to be got out of studying Ecclesiastical Law. Compare *Conv.* i. 9: 18-25, etc.



PARADISO

GOD as self-existent contemplating himself as manifested, in that love which in either aspect he breathes forth, made all objects of intelligence or sense with that order which speaks of him to all beholders (1-6). Let the reader, then, look upon the equinoctial point, which so clearly displays that art of God which he himself ever contemplates, in love (7-12). Let him reflect how the influences of the sun and planets—the seasons and other alternations—would be effective over a smaller part of the earth if the inclination of the ecliptic were less, and would be too violent in their contrasts if it were greater (13-21). If the reader will not give himself time to work out these and other such hints, weary listlessness instead of enjoyment will be the fruit of his study, for the author cannot pause to elaborate them for him (22-27). The sun is in the spring equinoctial point and Dante is with him (28-39). Standing out against the sun by their very brightness are spirits rejoicing in the vision of the relation of the Father to the Son and

Sole Guardando nel suo figlio con l' amore
che l' uno e l' altro eternalmente spira,
lo primo ed ineffabile valore
quanto per mente o per loco si gira 4
con tanto ordine fe', ch' esser non puote
senza gustar di lui chi ciò rimira.
Leva dunque, lettor, all' alte rote 7
meco la vista dritto a quella parte
dove l' un moto e l' altro si percote ;
e lì comincia a vagheggiar nell' arte 10
di quel maestro, che dentro a sè l' ama
tanto che mai da lei l' occhio non parte.

CANTO X

to the Holy Spirit (40-51). Beatrice calls on Dante to thank the sun of the angels; and he thereon so concentrates his thought on God as to forget Beatrice (52-60); in pleasure whereat she smiles so beauteously as to shatter the undivided unity of his mind; which thus broken up distributes itself amongst the wondrous objects that claim it (61-63). Twelve spirits surround Dante and Beatrice, as with a crown, and thrice circle them, uttering music that may not be conceived on earth (64-78); then pause, while one of them, Thomas Aquinas, declares that since the divine grace has kindled in Dante such true love as must ever increase itself by the mere act of loving, and has revealed to him that heavenly bliss to which he who has once known it must ever return, it follows that every blessed soul must freely love to do him pleasure (79-90); whereon he tells him who are the other flames (91-138); whereon the wheel of lights again begins to revolve with ineffable music (139-148).

Gazing upon his Son with the Love which the The
 one and the other eternally breathes forth, the prudent
 primal and ineffable Worth,
 made whatsoever circleth through mind or space Creation
 with so great order that whoso looketh on it
 may not be without some taste of him.
 Then, reader, raise with me thy sight to the
 exalted wheels, directed to that part where
 the one movement smiteth on the other;
 and amorously there begin to gaze upon that
 Master's art, who within himself so loveth it,
 that never doth he part his eye from it.

- Sole** Vedi come da indi si dirama 13
l' obbliquo cerchio che i pianeti porta,
per soddisfare al mondo che li chiama ;
e se la strada lor non fosse torta, 16
molta virtù nel ciel sarebbe in vano,
e quasi ogni potenza quaggiù morta :
e se da dritto più o men lontano 19
fosse il partire, assai sarebbe manco
e giù e su dell' ordine mondano.
Or ti riman, lettor, sopra il tuo banco, 22
retro pensando a ciò che si preliba,
s' esser vuoi lieto assai prima che stanco.
Messo t' ho innanzi : omai per te ti ciba ; 25
chè a sè torce tutta la mia cura
quella materia ond' io son fatto scriba.
Lo ministro maggior della natura, 28
che del valor del cielo il mondo impronta
e col suo lume il tempo ne misura,
con quella parte che su si rammenta 31
congiunto, si girava per le spire
in che più tosto ognora s' appresenta.
Ed io era con lui ; ma del salire 34
non m' accors' io, se non com' uom s' accorge,
anzi il primo pensier, del suo venire.
È Beatrice quella che sì scorge 37
di bene in meglio, sì subitamente
che l' atto suo per tempo non si sporge.
Quant' esser convenia da sè lucente 40
quel ch' era dentro al sol dov' io entra'mi,
non per color, ma per lume parvente !
Perch' io lo ingegno, l' arte e l' uso chiami, 43
sì nol direi che mai s' immaginasse,
ma creder puossi, e di veder si brami.

See how thence offbrancheth the oblique circle The prudent
 that beareth the planets, to satisfy the world
 that calleth on them ;

and were their pathway not inclined, much virtue
 in the heaven were in vain, and dead were
 almost every potency on earth ;

and if, from the straight course, or more or less The ecliptic
 remote were the departure, much were lacking
 to the cosmic order below and eke above.

Now stay thee, reader, on thy bench, back
 thinking on this foretaste, wouldst thou have
 good joyance ere that thou be weary.

I have set before thee ; now feed thou thyself,
 for that matter whereof I have made me
 scribe, now wresteth to itself my total care.

The greatest minister of Nature, who with the Sun in equinox
 worth of heaven stampeth the world, and with
 his light measureth the time for us,

united with that part now called to mind, was
 circling on the spirals whereon he doth pre-
 sent him ever earlier.

And I was with him ; but of my ascent I was
 no more aware than is a man, ere his first
 thought, aware that it is coming.

'Tis Beatrice who leadeth thus from good to
 better, so instantly that her act doth not
 expatiate through time.

How shining in itself must that needs be which
 in the sun, whereinto I had entered, itself re-
 vealeth not by hue, but light !

Though I should summon genius, art, tradition,
 ne'er could I so express it as to make it
 imaged ; but it may be believed—and let
 men long to see it.

- Sole** E se le fantasie nostre son basse 46
a tanta altezza, non è maraviglia,
chè sopra il sol non fu occhio ch' andasse.
- Tal era quivi la quarta famiglia 49
dell' alto padre che sempre la sazia,
mostrando come spira e come figlia.
- E Beatrice cominciò : " Ringrazia, 52
ringrazia il sol degli angeli, ch' a questo
sensibil t' ha levato per sua grazia."
- Cor di mortal non fu mai sì digesto 55
a divozione ed a rendersi a Dio
con tutto il suo gradir cotanto presto,
- com' a quelle parole mi fec' io ; 58
e sì tutto il mio amore in lui si mise,
che Beatrice eclissò nell' obbligo.
- Non le dispiacque ; ma sì se ne rise, 61
che lo splendor degli occhi suoi ridenti
mia mente unita in più cose divise.
- Io vidi più fulgor vivi e vincenti 64
far di noi centro e di sè far corona,
più dolci in voce che in vista lucenti.
- Così cinger la figlia di Latona 67
vedem talvolta, quando l' aere è pregno
sì che ritenga il fil che fa la zona.
- Nella corte del ciel, ond' io rivegno, 70
si trovan molte gioie care e belle
tanto che non si posson trar del regno,
- e il canto di quei lumi era di quelle ; 73
chi non s' impenna sì che lassù voli,
dal muto aspetti quindi le novelle.
- Poi, sì cantando, quegli ardenti soli 76
sì fur girati intorno a noi tre volte,
come stelle vicine ai fermi poli,

And if our fantasies are low for such an exalta-
 tion, it is no marvel, for never was there eye
 that could transcend the sun. **The prudent**

Such, there, was the fourth household of the
 exalted Father who ever satisfieth it, shew-
 ing how he doth breathe, and how beget. **Doctors and Sages**

And Beatrice began : "Give thanks, give thanks
 to the sun of the Angels, who of his grace
 hath to this sun of sense exalted thee."

Never was heart of mortal so disposed unto
 devotion, and so keen to give itself to God
 with all its will,

as at those words was I ; and so wholly was
 my love committed unto him, it eclipsed
 Beatrice in oblivion.

Her it displeased not ; but she so smiled thereat,
 the splendour of her laughing eyes parted my
 erst united mind amongst things multiform.

Then saw I many a glow, living and conquering,
 make of us a centre, and of themselves a crown ;
 sweeter in voice than shining in appearance.

Thus girt we sometimes see Latona's daughter, **Halo**
 when the air is so impregnated as to retain
 the thread that makes her zone.

In the court of heaven, whence I have returned,
 are many gems so dear and beauteous that
 from that realm they may not be withdrawn,
 and the song of these lights was of such ; he
 who doth not so wing himself that he may
 fly up there, must look for news thence from
 the dumb.

When, so singing, those burning suns had circled
 round us thrice, like stars neighbouring the
 fixed poles,

- Sole** donne mi parver, non da ballo sciolte, 79
ma che s' arrestin tacite ascoltando
fin che le nuove note hanno ricolte.
- E** dentro all' un senti' cominciar: " Quando 82
lo raggio della grazia, onde s' accende
verace amore, e che poi cresce amando
moltiplicato, in te tanto risplende, 85
che ti conduce su per quella scala,
u' senza risalir nessun discende,
qual ti negasse il vin della sua fiala 88
per la tua sete, in libertà non fora,
se non com' acqua ch' al mar non si cala.
- Tu** vuoi saper di quai piante s' infiora 91
questa ghirlanda, che intorno vagheggia
la bella donna ch' al ciel t' avvalora.
- Io** fui degli agni della santa greggia, 94
che Domenico mena per cammino,
u' ben s' impingua, se non si vaneggia.
- Questi**, che m' è a destra più vicino, 97
frate e maestro fummi, ed esso Alberto
fu di Colonia, ed io Thomas d'Aquino.
- Se** sì di tutti gli altri esser vuoi certo, 100
di retro al mio parlar ten vien col viso
girando su per lo beato serto.
- Quell'** altro fiammeggiare esce del riso 103
di Grazian, che l' uno e l' altro foro
aiutò sì che piace in Paradiso.
- L'** altro, ch' appresso adorna il nostro coro, 106
quel Pietro fu, che con la poverella
offerse a santa Chiesa suo tesoro.
- La** quinta luce, ch' è tra noi più bella, 109
spira di tale amor, che tutto il mondo
laggiù ne gola di saper novella:

they seemed as ladies, not from the dance
 released, but pausing, silent, listening till they
 catch the notes renewed. The
prudent

And within one I heard begin: "Since the
 ray of grace,—whereat true love is kindled,
 and then doth grow, by loving, Thomas
Aquinas

multifold—doth so glow in thee as to conduct
 thee up upon that stairway, which, save to
 reascend, no one descendeth,
 whoso refused his vial's wine to quench thy
 thirst, were no more free than water that
 should flow not to the sea.

Thou wouldst know with what plants this
 garland is enflowered, which amorously doth
 circle round the beauteous lady who strength-
 eneth thee for heaven.

I was of the lambs of the sacred flock that
 Dominic leadeth upon the way where is good
 fattening if there be no straying.

This, who most neighboureth me upon the right,
 brother and master was to me, and he was Albertus
Magnus
 Albert of Cologne, I Thomas of Aquino.

If in like manner thou wouldst be assured of
 all the rest, take way with thy sight after my
 words, circling above along the blessed wreath.

This next flaming issueth from the smile of
 Gratian, who gave such aid to the one and
 the other forum, as is acceptable in Paradise.

The other who doth next adorn our choir, was
 that Peter who, with the poor widow, offered
 his treasure unto Holy Church.

The fifth light, which amongst us is most fair, Solomon
 doth breathe from such a love that all the world
 down there thirsteth to know the news of it;

- Sole** entro v' è l' alta mente u' sì profondo 118
 saper fu messo, che, se il vero è vero,
 a veder tanto non surse il secondo.
- Appresso** vedi il lume di quel cero 115
 che, giuso in carne, più addentro vide
 l' angelica natura e il ministero.
- Nell'** altra piccioletta luce ride 116
 quell' avvocato dei tempi cristiani,
 del cui latino Augustin si provvide.
- Or,** se tu l' occhio della mente trani 121
 di luce in luce, retro alle mie lode,
 già dell' ottava con sete rimani.
- Per** vedere ogni ben dentro vi gode 124
 l' anima santa, che il mondo fallace
 fa manifesto a chi di lei ben ode.
- Lo** corpo ond' ella fu cacciata giace 127
 giuso in Cieldauro, ed essa da martiro
 e da esilio venne a questa pace.
- Vedi** oltre fiammeggiar l' ardente spiro 130
 d' Isidoro, di Beda e di Riccardo
 che a considerar fu più che viro.
- Questi,** onde a me ritorna il tuo riguardo, 133
 è il lume d' uno spirto, che in pensieri
 gravi a morir gli parve venir tardo :
- essa** è la luce eterna di Sigieri, 136
 che, leggendo nel vico degli strami,
 sillogizzò invidiosi veri."
- Indi** come orologio, che ne chiami 139
 nell' ora che la sposa di Dio surge
 a mattinar lo sposo perchè l' ami,
- che** l' una parte l' altra tira ed urge, 142
 tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota,
 che il ben disposto spirto d' amor turge ;

within there is the lofty mind, to which a wisdom **The**
 so profound was granted, that, if the truth be **prudent**
 true, no second ever rose to such full vision.

Next look upon that taper's light, which, in **Dionysius**
 the flesh below, saw deepest into the angelic
 nature and its ministry.

In the next little light laugheth that pleader for
 the Christian times, with whose discourse
 Augustine fortified him.

Now if thou drawest thy mind's eye from light
 to light, following my praises, already for the
 eighth thou art athirst.

In seeing every good therein rejoiceth the **Boethius**
 sainted soul, which unmasketh the deceitful
 world to whoso giveth it good hearing.

The body whence it was chased forth, lieth
 down below in Cieldauro and itself from
 martyrdom and exile came unto this peace.

See flaming next the glowing breath of Isidore,
 of Bede, and of Richard, who, in contem-
 plating, was more than man.

The one from which thy glance returneth unto
 me, is the light of a spirit who, in weighty
 thoughts, him seemed went all too slowly to
 his death ;

it is the light eternal of Sigier who, lecturing in
 the *Vicus Straminis*, syllogized truths that
 brought him into hate."

Then as the horologue, that calleth us, what hour **Matin**
 the spouse of God riseth to sing her matins to **Chimes**
 her spouse that he may love her, **of the**
Church

wherein one part drawing and thrusting other,
 giveth a chiming sound of so sweet note, that
 the well-ordered spirit with love swelleth ;

Sole così vid' io la gloriosa rota

143

moversi, e render voce a voce in temprà
ed in dolcezza ch' esser non può nota,

se non colà dove gioir s' insempra.

148

1-3. Note the special frequency of references to the Trinity in this and the next following Cantos. Also the emphasis laid, in line 2, on the procession of the Holy Ghost *from the Son* as well as from the Father. The *filiogue* controversy was one of the chief sources of the alienation between the East and West, which, after widening for centuries, resulted at last in the great schism of 1054 by which the Greek and Latin Churches were severed.

7-9. At the first point of Aries and at the first point of Libra the Equator and the Zodiac cross on the heavenly sphere. The daily movement of the Sun (and all other heavenly bodies) is parallel to the Equator, and his annual movement is along the Zodiac ("the oblique circle that beareth the planets"), so that the daily and the annual movements smite one upon the other at these two points.

31-33. From mid-winter to mid-summer the Sun rises every day a little earlier and a little further North than the day before, and from mid-summer to mid-winter a little later and a little further South. Thus he always travels on a spiral, up or down. It is in the middle of his up-spiral that he encounters the Spring equinoctial point. This passage then indicates the *Spring equinox* with perfect precision.

97-99. Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) and Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) "christianised Aristotle," *i.e.* made Aristotle's works the philosophical basis of Christian doctrine, as well as the store-house of profane learning, thus putting an end to the dislike of the Aristotelian learning which the elder theologians had felt when it was introduced in the twelfth century. From Thomas Aquinas (Doctor Angelicus), and especially his *Summa*, Dante drew much of his theological learning. Albertus Magnus (Doctor Universalis) taught in Cologne and Paris, and Thomas was his beloved pupil.

so did I see the glorious wheel revolve and render voice to voice in harmony and sweetness that may not be known except where joy maketh itself eternal. The prudent

104. Gratian (fl. c. 1150) brought ecclesiastical and civil law into relation with each other. His *Decretum* was the first systematic treatise on Canon Law.

106-108. Peter Lombard (c. 1100-1160) collected and discussed the pronouncements of the Christian Fathers in his four books of *Sentences*, dealing respectively with God, the Creation, the Redemption, and the Sacraments and Last Things. In the preface he compares himself to the poor widow of *Luke* xxi. 1-4. His work became the text-book of theological teaching, and Bonaventura, Aquinas, and others wrote commentaries on it.

109-114. Solomon. 1 *Kings* iii. 12. "There is a dispute amongst certain holy men and theologians whether he [Solomon] be damned or saved" (Petrus Alighieri).

113. As sure as Scripture.

115-117. Dionysius the Areopagite. See *Acts* xvii. 34. (Compare xxviii. 130, &c.) The works on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, &c., that went under his name are now supposed to date from the fifth or sixth century.

118-120. Probably Paulus Orosius (early fifth century), whose *Historia adversus Paganos* was an apologetic treatise written in connection with Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* to disarm the Pagan contention that Christianity had ruined the Roman Empire.

124-129. Boethius (c. 475-525), whose penetrating influence on Dante is to be traced everywhere. Cf. *Conv.* ii. 13: 14-16, and many other passages. When in prison, in Pavia, condemned to death by Theodoric, he wrote the *Consolation of Philosophy*, a book of noble pagan morality and religion, maintaining that even in this world, and as judged by human reason, the life of the virtuous man is to be preferred before that of the vicious, and the ways of God to man may be justified. Thus he supplemented the exclusive reliance of Christian writers on the compensations of a future

life, and on revealed, as distinct from philosophical truth. The mediæval consciousness, uncritical as usual, but with a correct enough instinct, laid hold of this welcome supplement without perceiving its essentially pagan presentation, and so found room for Boethius amongst the Christian teachers. The process was facilitated by the fact that Boethius moved in Christian circles, had, in his youth, written certain theological tracts in defence of Christian orthodoxy against Eutychian and other heresies (dealing with the questions at issue from the philosophical point of view), and appears never to have separated himself from the Christian communion, though his spiritual life was fed entirely from Pagan sources. The authenticity of his theological treatises, though raised above all reasonable doubt, is still occasionally disputed.

Special prominence is given in the last book of the *Consolation of Philosophy* to the problem of the reconciliation of God's fore-knowledge with man's freewill. Boethius treats it very fully and with great beauty. In substance the answer is that God's knowledge of the future no more determines it than does his knowledge of the past, and that indeed the distinction between fore-knowledge and after-knowledge does not apply to God at all, since he is not subject to the conditions of time. The distinction between *divine* and *human* knowledge absorbs the lesser distinction between *fore-* and *after-*knowledge, and if we are to inquire into the relations in question at all, it must be by trying to form some conception of the higher plane of the divine knowledge in general, not by tormenting ourselves as to the specific

implications of God's *fore-knowledge*. It is in this connection that Boethius gives the definition of eternity that became classical: "Whatsoever, therefore, comprehendeth and possesseth the whole plenitude of unlimited life at once, to which nought of the future is wanting, and from which nought of the past hath flowed away, this may rightly be deemed eternal." Cf. xxii. 61-69. *Argument* and *Note* together with the other passages there referred to.

128. Cieldauro (Golden Ceiling) is a name of St Peter's church in Pavia.

131. Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), the author of a great Cyclopaedia. Bede, the Venerable (c. 673-735). Richard of St Victor († 1173) wrote a treatise entitled *De Contemplatione*. Compare *Epist. ad Can. Grand.*, 552-554 (§ 28). See further xii. 133, *note*.

136-138. Sigier of Brabant († probably about 1283), a professor in the University of Paris, where the *Rue du Fouarre* ran "close to the river, in the region which is still known as the *Quartier Latin*, and was the centre of the Arts Schools at Paris" (Toynbee). He took a leading part in the disputes between the mendicant orders and the University, and it is noteworthy that Thomas Aquinas himself was one of his chief opponents. He met his death (apparently by an assassin's dagger) at the Papal court at Orvieto, but exactly when does not appear.

140. *Spouse of God* = the Church.

PARADISO

CONTRAST between earth and heaven (1-12). Thomas, reading Dante's thoughts, renews his discourse in order to remove certain difficulties (13-27). Providence raised up Francis and Dominic to succour the Church (28-42). From Assisi Francis rose sun-like, even as the sun in which Doctor and Poet are now discoursing rises to mortals from Ganges or elsewhere according to the place of their abode (43-54). His

- Sole** O insensata cura dei mortali,
 quanto son difettivi sillogismi
 quei che ti fanno in basso batter l' ali !
- Chi retro a iura, e chi ad aforismi 4
 sen giva, e chi seguendo sacerdozio,
 e chi regnar per forza o per sofismi,
- e chi rubare, e chi civil negozio, 7
 chi nel diletto della carne involto
 s' affaticava, e chi si dava all' ozio ;
- quando, da tutte queste cose sciolto, 10
 con Beatrice m' era suso in cielo
 cotanto gloriosamente accolto.
- Poi che ciascuno fu tornato ne lo 13
 punto del cerchio, in che avanti s' era,
 fermossi come a candelier candelò.
- Ed io senti' dentro a quella lumiera, 16
 che pria m' avea parlato, sorridendo
 incominciar, facendosi più mera :
- " Così com' io del suo raggio risplendo, 19
 sì, riguardando nella luce eterna,
 li tuoi pensieri, onde cagioni, apprendo.
- Tu dubbi, ed hai voler che si discerna 22
 in sì aperta e in sì distesa lingua
 lo dicer mio, ch' al tuo sentir si sterna,

CANTO XI

marriage with poverty (55-75). The founding and confirming of his order (76-99). He preaches to the Soldan, receives the stigmata, and dies commending his bride to his disciples (100-117). If he was such, what must Dominic have been, seeing that he was worthy to be his colleague (118-123). But almost all his followers are degenerate (124-139).

Insensate care of mortals! Oh how false the The
arguments which make thee downward beat prudent
thy wings!

One was following after law, and one aphorisms, one was pursuing priesthood, and one dominion by violence or by quibbles,
and another plunder, and another civil business, and one, tangled in the pleasures of the flesh, was moiling, and one abandoned him to ease;
the whilst, from all these things released, with Earth and
Beatrice up in heaven thus gloriously was I Heaven
received.

When each had come again to that point of the circle whereat he was before, he stayed him, as the taper in its stand.

And within that light which first had spoken to me I heard smiling begin, as it grew brighter:

“Even as I glow with its ray, so, gazing into Thomas
the Eternal Light, I apprehend whence thou dost take occasion for thy thoughts.

Thou questionest and wouldst fain discern, in such open and dispread discourse as may be level to thine understanding, my utterance

- Sole** ove dinanzi dissi : *u' ben s' impingua,* 35
 e là u' diassi : *non surse il secondo ;*
 e qui è uopo che ben si distingua.
- La** provvidenza, che governa il mondo 36
 con quel consiglio nel quale ogni aspetto
 creato è vinto pria che vada al fondo,
 però che andasse ver lo suo diletto 37
 la sposa di colui, ch' ad alte grida
 disposò lei col sangue benedetto,
 in sè sicura ed anco a lui più fida, 38
 due principi ordinò in suo favore,
 che quinci e quindi le fosser per guida.
- L'** un fu tutto serafico in ardore, 39
 l' altro per sapienza in terra fue
 di cherubica luce uno splendore.
- Dell'** un dirò, però che d' ambedue 40
 si dice l' un pregiando, qual ch' uom prende,
 perchè ad un fine fur l' opere sue.
- Intra** Tupino e l' acqua che discende 41
 del colle eletto del beato Ubaldo,
 fertile costa d' alto monte pende,
 onde Perugia sente freddo e caldo 42
 da porta Sole, e di retro le piange
 per grave giogo Nocera con Gualdo.
- Di** questa costa, là dov' ella frange 43
 più sua rattezza, nacque al mondo un sole,
 come fa questo talvolta di Gange.
- Però** chi d' esso loco fa parole 44
 non dica *Ascesi*, che direbbe corto,
 ma *Oriente*, se proprio dir vuole.
- Non** era ancor molto lontan dall' orto, 45
 ch' ei cominciò a far sentir la terra
 della sua gran virtute alcun conforto ;

wherein I said but now : *Where is good fattening*, The
 and wherein I said : *No second ever rose* ; and prudent
 here we need to make precise distinction.

The providence which governeth the world,—
 with counsel wherein every creature's gaze must
 stay, defeated, e'er it reach the bottom,—

in order that the spouse of him, who with loud
 cries espoused her with the blessed blood,
 might go toward her delight,

secure within herself and faithfuller to him, two
 Princes did ordain on her behalf, who on this
 side and that should be for guides.

The one was all seraphic in his ardour, the Francis and
 other by his wisdom was on earth a splendour Dominic
 of cherubic light.

Of one will I discourse, because of both the two
 he speaketh who doth either praise, which so
 he will ; for to one end their works.

Between Tupino and the stream that drops from Assisi
 the hill chosen by the blessed Ubaldo, a fer-
 tile slope hangs from a lofty mount,

wherefrom Perugia feeleth cold and heat through
 Porta Sole, and behind it waileth Nocera, for
 the heavy yoke, and Gualdo.

From this slope, where most it breaks the steep- Francis
 ness of decline, was born into the world a sun,
 even as is this some whiles from Ganges.

Wherefore who speaketh of that place, let him
 not say *Assisi*, 'twere to speak short, but
Orient, would he name it right.

Not yet was he far distant from his rising when
 he began to make the earth to feel from his
 great power a certain strengthening ;

- Sole chè per tal donna giovinetto in guerra 53
 del padre corse, a cui, com' alla morte,
 la porta del piacer nessun disserra ;
 ed innanzi alla sua spirital corte, 51
et coram patre le si fece unito ;
 poscia di dì in dì l' amò più forte.
- Questa, privata del primo marito, 64
 mille e cent' anni e più dispetta e scura
 fino a costui si stette senza invito.
- Nè valse udir che la trovò sicura 67
 con Amiclate, al suon della sua voce,
 colui ch' a tutto il mondo fe' paura ;
 nè valse esser costante nè feroce, 70
 sì che, dove Maria rimase giuso,
 ella con Cristo salse in sulla croce.
- Ma perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso, 73
 Francesco e Povertà per questi amanti
 prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.
- La lor concordia e i lor lieti sembianti 75
 amore e meraviglia e dolce sguardo
 faceano esser cagion di pensier santi ;
 tanto che il venerabile Bernardo 79
 si scalzò prima, e retro a tanta pace
 corse, e correndo gli parv' esser tardo.
- O ignota ricchezza, o ben ferace ! 82
 Scalzasi Egidio, scalzasi Silvestro,
 retro allo sposo, sì la sposa piace.
- Indi sen va quel padre e quel maestro 85
 con la sua donna, e con quella famiglia
 che già legava l' umile capestro ;
 nè gli gravò viltà di cor le ciglia, 88
 per esser fi' di Pietro Bernardone,
 nè per parer dispetto a meraviglia.

for in his youth for such a lady did he rush into ^{The} war against his father, to whom, as unto death, ^{prudent} not one unbars the gate of his good pleasure ;
 and in the spiritual court that had rule over him, ^{My lady} and in his father's presence he was united to ^{poverty} her, and then from day to day loved her more strongly.

She, reft of her first husband, a thousand and a hundred years and more, despised, obscure, even till him stood without invitation.

And nought availed her the report that she was found unterrified together with Amyclas, when sounded that man's voice, who struck all the world with terror ;

and nought availed her to have been so constant and undaunted, that she, when Mary stayed below, mounted the cross with Christ.

But, lest I should proceed too covertly, Francis ^{Francis and} and Poverty as these two lovers now accept ^{poverty} in speech outspread.

Their harmony and joyous semblance, made love and wonder and tender looks the cause of sacred thoughts ;

so that the venerable Bernard first cast off his ^{The first} sandals and ran to follow so great peace, and ^{disciples} as he ran him thought him all too slow.

Oh wealth unrecognised, oh fertile good ! Unsandals him Egidius, unsandals him Sylvester, following the spouse, so doth the bride delight.

Thence took his way, this father and this master, together with his lady, and with the household already binding on the humble cord ;

nor abjectness of heart weighed down his brow, that he was Pietro Bernadone's son, nor that he seemed so marvellous despised.

- Sole** Ma regalmente sua dura intenzione 92
ad Innocenzio aperse, e da lui ebbe
primo sigillo a sua religione.
- Poi che la gente poverella crebbe 94
retro a costui, la cui mirabil vita
meglio in gloria del ciel si canterebbe,
di seconda corona redimita 97
fu per Onorio dall' eterno spiro
la santa voglia d' esto archimandrita.
- E poi che, per la sete del martiro, 100
nella presenza del Soldan superba
predicò Cristo e gli altri che il seguirono,
e per trovare a conversione acerba 103
troppo la gente, per non stare indarno,
reddissi al frutto dell' italica erba;
nel crudo sasso, intra Tevero ed Arno, 106
da Cristo prese l' ultimo sigillo,
che le sue membra due anni portarno.
- Quando a colui ch' a tanto ben sortillo 109
piacque di trarlo suso alla mercede,
ch' ei meritò nel suo farsi pusillo,
ai frati suoi, sì com' a giuste rede, 112
raccomandò la sua donna più cara,
e comandò che l' amassero a fede ;
- e del suo grembo l' anima preclara 115
mover si volle, tornando al suo regno,
ed al suo corpo non volle altra bara.
- Pensa oramai qual fu colui, che degno 118
collega fu a mantener la barca
di Pietro in alto mar per dritto segno!
- E questi fu il nostro patriarca ; 121
per che qual segue lui, com' ei comanda,
discerner puoi che buone merce carca.

But royally his stern intent to Innocent revealed **The**
 he, and from him had the first imprint upon **prudent**
 his Order.

When the poor folk increased, after his track
 whose marvellous life were better sung in
 heaven's glory,

then was the holy will of this chief shepherd **The order**
 circled with a second crown by Honorius at **founded**
 the eternal inspiration. **and confirmed**

And when, in thirst of martyrdom, in the proud
 presence of the Soldan, he preached Christ
 and his followers ;

and because he found the folk too crude against
 conversion,—not to stay in vain,—returned to
 gather fruit from the Italian herbage ;

then on the harsh rock between Tiber and Arno, **The**
 from Christ did he receive that final imprint **stigmata**
 which his limbs two years carried.

When it pleased him who for such good ordained
 him, to draw him up to his reward which he
 had earned in making himself lowly,

to his brethren, as to his right heirs, his dearest
 lady he commended, and bade that they should
 love her faithfully ;

and from her bosom the illustrious soul willed to
 depart, turning to its own realm, and for its
 body would no other bier.

Think now what he was, who was a worthy **Dominic**
 colleague to maintain the barque of Peter in
 deep sea towards the right sign !

And such was our patriarch ; wherefore who
 followeth him as he commandeth, thou must
 perceive, loadeth him with good wares.

- Sole** Ma il suo peculio di nuova vivanda 124
 è fatto ghiotto sì ch' esser non puote
 che per diversi salti non si spanda ;
- e quanto le sue pecore remote 127
 e vagabonde più da esso vanno,
 più tornano all' ovil di latte vote.
- Ben son di quelle che temono il danno, 130
 e stringonsi al pastor ; ma son sì poche,
 che le cappe fornisce poco panno.
- Or, se le mie parole non son fioche, 133
 se la tua audienza è stata attenta,
 se ciò ch' ho detto alla mente rivoche,
- in parte fia la tua voglia contenta, 136
 perchè vedrai la pianta onde si scheggia,
 e vedrai il coregger che argomenta,
- U' ben s' impingua, se non si vaneggia.*" 139

4. *Aphorisms*. The name of a celebrated work of Hippocrates (B.C. 460-357). Hence equivalent to *medicine*.

25, 26. See x. 96, 114.

27. Compare xiii. 115-116. To "distinguish" is a technical term of logic. It consists in showing that the inference is not correct though the premises are true, because there is a difference between the sense in which a word is used in the true premise and the sense in which alone it would justify the false conclusion. If an argument is refuted by denying one of the premises the process is called *interemption* = "destruction." Compare *De Monarchia*, iii. 4: 39-44.

37-39. The Seraphs, in popular estimate, are symbolical of love, and the Cherubs of knowledge. Hence Francis (1182-1226), known as the Seraphic Father, and Dominic (1170-1221) are respectively akin to them. But see xxviii. 109-111, and *note*.

43. The Chiascio.

44. Ubaldo (bishop of Gubbio, †1160) selected this

But his flock hath grown so greedy for new ^{The}
viands, it may not be but that through divers ^{prudent}
glades it strayeth ;

and the more his sheep distant and wandering
depart from him, the emptier of milk they
return foldwards.

There are of them, indeed, who fear the loss ^{The}
and cleave close to the shepherd, but they ^{Dominicans}
are so few that little cloth doth furnish forth
their cowls.

Now if my words have not been faint, if thy
listening hath been attent, if thou call back to
mind what I have said,

in part thy will must now be satisfied, for thou
shalt see the plant from which they whittle, and
thou shalt see the rebuke that is intended in :
Where is good fattening if there be no straying."

hill for his hermitage, but (according to Scartazzini)
was never able to carry out his intention of retiring to
it. Hence the term *chosen*.

47. *Porta Sole*, the Eastern gate of Perugia.

48. They were under the Angevin dynasty so
hated by Dante. Compare vi. 106, *note*, &c., &c. But
others (with less probability) interpret *greve giogo* as
referring to the barren eastern slope of Monte Subasio.

53. *Ascesi*, an old form of Assisi, may be translated
"I have ascended." A play upon the word, in connec-
tion with *Oriente*, is found by some commentators.
The comparison of Francis to the rising Sun is ancient
and wide spread. "Glowing as the light-bearer and
as the morning star, yea, even as the rising Sun, illu-
minating, cleansing and fertilising the world like some
new luminary, was Francis seen to arise," says the
Prologue of one of the earliest Lives.

58. He was about twenty-four when he began to
woo Poverty.

58-117. In the early biographies of Francis (includ-

ing the *Fioretti* or popular stories of him) with which every reader of Dante should be familiar, we are told how he fell in love with Poverty; how his father indignantly sought to reclaim him; how he appealed to the Bishop, stripped himself naked before him, giving to his earthly father Pietro Bernadone that which was his, and dedicating himself to his heavenly father, and thus publicly espousing Poverty; how Bernard, the nobleman of Assisi, was converted by overhearing his devotions; how Egidius whose thoughts were already turning from the world flung himself at the feet of Francis and implored him to receive him as a companion; how Sylvester, the priest, tried to cheat him over some stones he had from him with which to repair a Church and was overcome by his unworldly generosity; how he rejoiced in all suffering and humiliation; how he loved and rejoiced in all God's creatures; how two successive Popes sanctioned his Order (1210(?) and 1223); how he preached to the Soldan in Egypt; and finally, how he received the stigmata or impress of the nails and the lance as a testimony to his oneness of spirit with Christ (b. 1182, d. 1226).

64. Jesus Christ.

68. Lucan tells how Cæsar found the fisherman, Amyclas, lying on a bed of seaweed, undismayed when he roused him to demand his services, and unmoved by the revolutions of the times, secure in his poverty.

72. Nearly all the MSS. read *pianse* (wept) for *salse* (rose) and the best modern editions for the most part follow them. Dr Moore, however (rightly as we think) adheres to the reading we have adopted. It is supported not only by internal evidence but by some of the old commentators and by the analogy of the ancient prayer for Poverty ascribed to St. Francis, in which are the words "when thy very mother, *because the cross was so high . . .* could not come at thee, Lady Poverty embraced thee more closely," &c.

87. The rope girdle worn by the Franciscans.

93, 97, 107. Note the *first, second, final*.

96. An enigmatical phrase, since it is in heaven that the song of praise is being sung. Compare xii. 81.

106. Alvernia.

117. "And when he had blessed the brothers he had

them take off his tunic, and place him naked on the ground" (Old Biography).

118-132. St Thomas now passes to his own founder, Dominic, and rebukes the degenerate Dominicans. Compare xii. 106-126, *note*.

138. Another reading is *coreggier*, which would mean *the Dominican* (that is, one girt with the leather thong), and would refer either to the speaker (St. Thomas) himself or to any Dominican who might reprove his order in this way.



PARADISO

A SECOND circle of lights encloses the first and—
with music whereof our sweetest strains are but as
the reflection—the two, like the parallels of a double
rainbow, circle Dante and Beatrice, first moving and then
at rest (1-27). Like the needle of the compass to the
north star so Dante is swept round to one of the new-come
lights at the sound of its voice (28-30). It is Bonaven-
tura, the Franciscan, who undertakes the encomium of

Sole Sì tosto come l' ultima parola
la benedetta fiamma per dir tolse,
a rotar cominciò la santa mola ;
e nel suo giro tutta non si volse 4
prima ch' un' altra di cerchio la chiuse,
e moto a moto, e canto a canto colse :
canto che tanto vince nostre muse, 7
nostre sirene, in quelle dolci tube,
quanto primo splendor quel ch' ei refuse.
Come si volgon per tenera nube 10
due archi paralleli e concolori,
quando Giunone a sua ancella iube,
nascendo di quel d' entro quel di fuori, 13
a guisa del parlar di quella vaga,
ch' amor consunse come sol vapori ;
e fanno qui la gente esser presaga, 16
per lo patto che Dio con Noè pose,
del mondo che giammai più non si allaga :
così di quelle sempiterne rose 19
volgeansi circa noi le due ghirlande,
e sì l' estrema all' ultima rispose.
Poichè il tripudio e l' alta festa grande, 22
sì del cantare e sì del fiammeggiarsi
luce con luce gaudiose e blande,

CANTO XII

Dominic, just as Thomas, the Dominican, had pronounced that of Francis (31-78). Dominic's zeal for true learning and against heresy (79-105). If he was such, what must his colleague have been? But his disciples are ruined by the extremes of the strict and lax schools of observance (106-126). Bonaventura names himself and the other lights that circle with him (127-145).

Soon as the blessed flame had taken up the final word to speak, began the sacred millstone to revolve, The prudent

and in its rolling had not turned full round ere a second, circling, embraced it and struck motion to its motion and song to its song; song which so far surpasseth our Muses, our Sirens, in those sweet tubes, as the first splendour that which it back throweth.

As sweep o'er the thin mist two bows, parallel and like in colour, when Juno maketh behest to her handmaiden,

the one without born from the one within—in fashion of the speech of that wandering nymph whom love consumed as the sun doth the vapours,—

making folk here on earth foreknow, in virtue of the compact that God made with Noah, that the world never shall be drowned again;

so of those sempiternal roses revolved around us the two garlands, and so the outmost answered to the other. Double crown of flames

Soon as the dance and high great festival,—alike of song and flashing light with light, gladsome and benign,—

- Sola** insieme a punto ed a voler quietarsi, 25
pur come gli occhi ch' al piacer che i move
conviene insieme chiudere e levarsi,
del cor dell' una delle luci nuove 28
si mosse voce, che l' ago alla stella
parer mi fece in volgermi al suo dove ;
e cominciò : “ L' amor che mi fa bella 32
mi tragge a ragionar dell' altro duca,
per cui del mio sì ben ci si favella.
Degno è che dov' è l' un l' altro s' induca, 34
sì che com' elli ad una militaro,
così la gloria loro insieme luca.
L' esercito di Cristo, che sì caro 37
costò a riarmar, retro all' insegna
si movea tardo, suspiccioso e raro,
quando lo imperador, che sempre regna, 40
provvide alla milizia ch' era in forse,
per sola grazia, non per esser degna ;
e, com' è detto, a sua sposa soccorse 43
con due campioni, al cui fare, al cui dire
lo popol disviato si raccorse.
In quella parte, ove surge ad aprire 46
Zefiro dolce le novelle fronde,
di che si vede Europa rivestire,
non molto lungi al percoter dell' onde. 49
retro alle quali, per la lunga foga,
lo sol talvolta ad ogni uom si nasconde,
siede la fortunata Calaroga, 52
sotto la protezion del grande scudo,
in che soggiace il leone e soggioga.
Dentro vi nacque l' amoroso drudo 55
della fede cristiana, il santo atleta,
benigno ai suoi, ed ai nemici crudo ;

accordant at a point of time and act of will had The
 stilled them, like to the eyes which at the prudent
 pleasure that moveth them must needs be
 closed and lifted in accord,

from out the heart of one of the new lights there
 moved a voice which made me seem the needle
 to the star in turning me to where it was;

and it began: "The love which maketh me Bona-
 beautiful draweth me to discourse of the other ventura
 chief, on whose account such fair utterance is
 made to us concerning mine.

Meet is it that wherever is the one the other be
 lead in, that, as they warred together, so may
 their glory shine in union.

Christ's army, which it cost so dear to re-equip, Dominic
 was following the standard, laggard, fearsome and Francis
 and thin-ranked;

when the Emperor who ever reigneth took
 counsel for his soldiery that was in peril, of
 his grace only, not that it was worthy;

and, as hath been said, came to the succour of his
 spouse with two champions, at whose doing, at
 whose saying, the straggling squadron gathered
 itself again.

To-wards that part where sweet Zephyr riseth to Calahorra
 open the new leaves, wherewith Europe seeth
 herself reclad,

not far off from the smiting of the waves, behind
 the which, because of their long stretch, the
 sun sometimes hideth himself from all,

the fortune-favoured Calahorra sitteth under pro-
 tection of the mighty shield, whereon submits
 the lion, and subdueth.

Therewithin was born the amorous frere of the Dominic
 Christian faith, the sacred athlete, benignant to
 his own and cruel to his foes;

- Sole e come fu creata, fu repleta 58
 sì la sua mente di viva virtute,
 che nella madre lei fece profeta.
- Poichè le sponsalizie fur compiute 61
 al sacro fonte intra lui e la fede,
 u' si dotar di mutua salute ;
- la donna, che per lui l' assenso diede, 64
 vide nel sonno il mirabile frutto
 ch' uscir dovea di lui e delle rede ;
- e perchè fosse, quale era, in costrutto, 67
 quindi si mosse spirito a nomarlo
 del possessivo di cui era tutto.
- Dominico fu detto ; ed io ne parlo 70
 sì come dell' agricola, che Cristo
 elesse all' orto suo per aiutarlo.
- Ben parve messo e famigliar di Cristo ; 73
 chè il primo amor che in lui fu manifesto
 fu al primo consiglio che diè Cristo.
- Spesse fiate fu tacito e desto 76
 trovato in terra dalla sua nutrice
 come dicesse : *Io son venuto a questo.*
- O padre suo veramente Felice ! 79
 o madre sua veramente Giovanna,
 se interpretata val come si dice !
- Non per lo mondo, per cui mo s' affanna 82
 di retro ad Ostiense ed a Taddeo,
 ma per amor della verace manna,
- in picciol tempo gran dottor si feo, 85
 tal che si mise a circuir la vigna,
 che tosto imbianca, se il vignaio è reo ;
- ed alla sedia, che fu già benigna 88
 più ai poveri giusti, non per lei,
 ma per colui che siede, che traligna,

and, so soon as created, his mind was so replete The
 with living virtue, that in his mother's womb prudent
 he made her prophetess.

When the espousals were complete at the sacred
 font, betwixt him and the faith, where they
 gave dower of mutual salvation,

the lady who for him gave the assent saw in her
 sleep the marvellous fruit destined to issue from
 him and from his heirs ;

and that he might in very construing be what he was,
 a spirit from up here moved them to call him by
 the possessive adjective of him whose he all was.

Dominic was he named ; and I speak of him as
 of the husbandman whom Christ chose for his
 orchard, to bring aid to it.

Well did he show himself a messenger and a Dominic's
 familiar of Christ, for the first love made poverty and
 manifest in him was to the first counsel devotion
 that Christ gave.

Many a time, silent and awake, was he found
 on the floor, by her who nursed him, as
 who should say, *It was for this I came.*

Oh father his, Felice in good sooth ! Oh
 mother his, Giovanna in good sooth, if the
 word means, translated, what they say !

Not for the world for whose sake now men toil
 after him of Ostia and Thaddeus, but for love
 of the true manna,

in short season he became a mighty teacher,
 such that he set him to go round the vineyard,
 which soon turneth gray if the vine-dresser
 be to blame ;

and from the seat which erst was more benign
 to the just poor—not in itself, but in him
 who sitteth on it, and degenerateth—

- Sole non dispensare o due o tre per sei, 91
 non la fortuna di prima vacante,
 non *decimas quae sunt pauperum Dei*
 addomandò ; ma contro al mondo errante 94
 licenza di combatter per lo seme,
 del qual ti fascian ventiquattro piante.
 Poi con dottrina e con volere insieme 97
 con l' ufficio apostolico si mosse,
 quasi torrente ch' alta vena preme ;
 e negli sterpi eretici percosse 100
 l' impeto suo, più vivamente quivi
 dove le resistenze eran più grosse.
 Di lui si fecer poi diversi rivi, 103
 onde l' orto cattolico si riga,
 sì che i suoi arbuscelli stan più vivi.
 Se tal fu l' una rota della biga, 106
 in che la santa Chiesa si difese,
 e vinse in campo la sua civil briga,
 ben ti dovrebbe assai esser palese 109
 l' eccellenza dell' altra, di cui Tomma
 dinanzi al mio venir fu sì cortese.
 Ma l' orbita, che fe' la parte somma 112
 di sua circonferenza, è derelitta,
 sì ch'è la muffa dov'era la gromma.
 La sua fanniglia, che si mosse dritta 115
 coi piedi alle sue orme, è tanto volta,
 che quel dinanzi a quel di retro gitta ;
 e tosto si vedrà della ricolta 118
 della mala coltura, quando il loglio
 si lagnerà che l'arca gli sia tolta.
 Ben dico, chi cercasse a foglio a foglio 121
 nostro volume, ancor troveria carta
 u' leggerebbe: *Io mi son quel ch' io soglio ;*

not to dispense or two or three for six, not for The
 the fortune of the next vacancy, not for the prudent
 tithes belonging to God's poor,

he made demand ; but for leave against the erring Order
 world to fight for that seed wherefrom these founded
 four and twenty plants ensheaf thee.

Then with teaching and with will together,
 with the apostolic office he moved forth, like
 a torrent that a deep vein out-presseth,
 and his rush smote amongst the stumps of heresy
 most livingly where the resistances were
 grossest.

From him then diverse streamlets sprung,
 whereby the Catholic orchard is so watered
 that its shrubs have the fuller life.

If such was the one wheel of the chariot Francis
 wherein Holy Church defended her, and won
 in open field her civil strife,

clear enough should be to thee the excellence of
 that other, concerning whom, ere my coming,
 Thomas was so courteous.

But the track which the highest part of its The
 circumference took hath been so abandoned, Francis-
 that there now is mold where once was crust. caus

His household, who marched straight with feet
 in his footprints, hath turned so round, that
 the toe striketh on the heel's imprint ;

and soon shall sight be had of the harvest of the
 ill-culture, when the tare shall wail that the
 chest is reft from it.

I well allow that whoso should search leaf after
 leaf through our volume, might yet find a
 page where he might read : *I am as I was wont ;*

Sole ma non fia da Casal, nè d'Acquasparta,	124
là onde vegnon tali alla scrittura,	
che l' un la fugge e l' altro la coarta.	
Io son la vita di Bonaventura	127
da Bagnoregio, che nei grandi uffici	
sempre posposi la sinistra cura.	
Illuminato ed Augustin son quici,	130
che fur dei primi scalzi poverelli,	
che nel capestro a Dio si fero amici.	
Ugo da San Vittore è qui con elli,	133
e Pietro Mangiadore, e Pietro Ispano	
lo qual giù luce in dodici libelli ;	
Natan profeta, e il metropolitano	136
Crisostomo, ed Anselmo, e quel Donato	
ch' alla prim' arte degnò por la mano ;	
Rabano è qui, e lucemi da lato	139
il Calabrese abate Gioacchino,	
di spirito profetico dotato.	
Ad invecgiar cotanto paladino	143
mi mosse la infiammata cortesia	
di fra Tommaso, e il discreto latino ;	
e mosse meco questa compagnia."	145

3. The horizontal sweep of a mill-stone is contrasted with the vertical motion of a wheel in *Conv.* iii. 5 : 176. The Apostles are frequently represented in art as working the Divine mill, and it may be under the influence of this association, as well as the direct fascination of the sight of a mill at work, that Dante compares the circling of these lights of the Church to the sweep of a mill-stone.

7-9. The reference is general. 'Every song and every note produced in the throat or in the tubes of musical instruments is but a faint reflection of the heavenly music.'

10-18. This passage is often cited to illustrate

but not from Casale, nor from Acquasparta shall he be, whence come such to our Scripture that the one shirketh, the other draweth it yet tighter. The prudent

I am the life of Bonaventura of Bagnoregio, who in the great offices did ever place behind the lefthand care.

Illuminato and Augustine are here, who were of the first unshod poor brethren, that with the cord made themselves friends to God. The spirits named

Hugh of St Victor is here with them, and Pietro Mangiadore, and Pietro Ispano, who giveth light below in twelve booklets;

Nathan the prophet, the metropolitan Chrysostom, and Anselm, and that Donatus who deigned to set his hand to the first art;

Rabanus is here, and there shineth at my side the Calabrian abbot Joachim, dowed with prophetic spirit.

To emulous speech of so great paladin moved me the enkindled courtesy of brother Thomas and his well-judged discourse, and moved this company with me."

Dante's love of packing one simile within another. The two circles of lights were like a double rainbow (Juno's handmaid=Iris=Rainbow), and one rainbow is like the echo of another, and the nymph Echo was consumed by love as vapours are consumed by the Sun. Note the characteristic combination of Pagan mythology and Hebrew legend. Compare *Gen.* ix. 8-17.

21. The Italian presents a difficulty; *ultima*=the "last" (counting from outside inwards), being used for *intima*=the "inmost."

28-30. The speaker is Bonaventura (1221-1274), known as the Seraphic Doctor. He became General of the Franciscans in 1256.

33. Compare lines 106-126 of this Canto, *note*.

46-51. Calahorra, in Spain, not far from the Gulf of Gascony.

53, 54. The royal arms of Castile bear a castle in the first and third quarters, and a lion in the second and fourth. Thus on one side of the shield the lion is subdued by the castle, and on the other subdues it.

57. Of Dominic (1170-1221) comparatively little is known, but it presents a striking parallel and contrast to Francis. Dominic was a man of learning, and Francis was unlettered. Dominic's concern was for soundness of the faith, and Francis was given to deeds of love. Dominic's most characteristic work was the attempted conversion of the Albigensian heretics, and the stimulating of theological study at the universities, that of Francis tending the lepers of Italy. Dominic embraced poverty as a pledge of Apostolic zeal, and Francis for pure love of her; that is to say, from a sense that the more we *have* the less we can *be*, and a passionate joy in coming into naked contact with God and nature.

For the rest Dominic did *not* found the Inquisition; he did *not* take any considerable part in the persecution of the Albigenses (though he was united in close friendship with Folco, who did. Compare ix. 94, *note*); he did *not* introduce the use of the Rosary, and he did *not* utter the well-known rebuke of the pomp and luxury of the Papal legates, but listened to it as his superior Didacus delivered it. Very little of his biography, as usually told, is left after this; but that little shews him as a man of boundless love and compassion. When a student, he sold his books in a season of famine to give to the poor; he once offered to sell himself to redeem a captive; and his "frequent and special prayer" to God was for the gift of true charity.

60. "His mother when pregnant dreamed that she had in her womb a dog-whelp, with a torch in his mouth, whereby to set the world aflame when he should come into light" (*Brev. Rom.*).

61-63. "For the lady who held him at his baptism dreamed that Dominic himself had a most bright star on his brow, which illuminated all the world."—
BENVENUTO.

67. *Dominicus* (the possessive adjective of *Dominus*) = "pertaining to the Lord."

75. The counsel of poverty (*Matt.* xix. 21, whence the phrase "counsels of perfection"). Thomas Aquinas, while distinguishing between the *precepts* and the *counsels* of Christ, says that the latter may all be reduced to three—Poverty, Continence and Obedience. The "first" counsel, then, is Poverty.

79. *Felice* = favoured by fortune.

80. *Giovanna* is translated by Jerome "grace of the Lord." It is curious that Bonaventura in heaven is still dependent on Jerome for his Hebrew (compare xi. 96, but also iv. 51, *note*).

83. Henry of Susa, who became Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in 1261, was a commentator on the Decretals. Compare ix. 134, *note*. Thaddeus was a celebrated writer on medical subjects, who died in 1303. He was the author of the Italian translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, which Dante cites as a warning (*Conv.* i. 10: 68-71). The meaning is, of course, that Dominic studied not to qualify for a lucrative profession, but to come at the truth. Compare xi. 4.

88-90. A marked case of severing the ideal Papacy from the actual Popes. The Papacy *in itself* is as benign to the poor as ever; but the degenerate Pope (Boniface VIII.) makes it manifest itself in other fashion.

91-93. His application was not for leave to plunder on condition of paying a third or a half of the plunder to pious purposes, nor a petition for the first fat appointment that should fall vacant, or for leave to apply the tithes to his own purposes. The *erring world* = the heretics, notably the Albigenses, against whom Dominic's efforts were mainly directed.

98. He obtained the sanction of his order from Honorius III. in 1216.

106-126. The panegyric on Francis is pronounced by a Dominican, and that on Dominic by a Franciscan (whereas the denunciation of the unworthy Dominicans and Franciscans is in each case pronounced by one of themselves). Thus Dante foreshadowed what afterwards became a general usage, viz., for a Dominican to read mass in a Franciscan convent on their founder's day (Oct. 4), and a Franciscan to do the like for a Dominican convent on their founder's day (Aug. 4).

119-121. Compare *Matt.* xiii. 30.

124-126. From the moment of the death of Francis disputes as to the lax or strict observance of the rule devastated the Order. They have left their trace on all the earliest biographies. In Dante's time Ubertino of Cassale (1259-1338) was one of the leaders of the "Spirituals," or party of the strict observance. Matteo d'Aquasparta, who was elected General of the Order in 1287, and who was sent to Florence in 1300 and again in 1301 by Boniface VIII. (see Gardner, i. 4, "the Jubilee," &c., and Villani, viii. § 40, 43, 49) as pacificator, introduced relaxations into the discipline of the Order. Dante here makes Bonaventura (who was General from 1256 to 1274, and who, as a matter of fact, pursued a conciliatory policy) plead for the *via media*, against both extremes. In Dante's own time there had been an elaborate appeal to Clement V. to settle the affairs of the Order, which resulted in the issuing of the Bull *Exiit de Paradiso*.

129. *Left-hand care* = temporal affairs. There is a story of Bonaventura, on a certain visitation, spending hours with a young Franciscan, answering his questions and removing his difficulties. His companions urged him to leave him and continue his journey. "Shall I disobey my master?" he answered. He took his title of *minister* seriously.

130. Illuminato (who accompanied Francis to the Holy Land) and Augustine, joined the Order in 1210. Possibly placed here to vindicate the significance of a man's life as teaching; though they were not (as Benvenuto says) unlettered men.

133. *St. Victor* was an abbey in Paris, which became the centre of the old-fashioned and conservative learning as distinguished from the Aristotelian and scholastic learning. Hugo (c. 1097-1141) was one of its greatest lights. He was the teacher of Richard, and of Peter Lombard. Compare x. 131, 132, and 107, 108.

134. Peter "the devourer" of books († 1179) was the author of the *Historia Scolastica*, a paraphrase of the Scriptures, a French translation of which was very widely known in the Middle Ages. He became Chancellor of the University of Paris in 1164. Petrus Hispanus, afterwards Pope John XXI., was the author

of a little cram book of logic, which retained its popularity deep into the Renaissance period. It is from it that the well-known *Memoria Technica* verses, *Barbara Celarent*, &c., are derived; though whether he invented them or not is a matter of dispute.

136, 137. John Chrysostom, or Golden Mouth (c. 344-407), Archbishop of Constantinople, renowned for his fearless eloquence, denounced the vices of the court, and was persecuted and exiled by the Empress Eudoxia in consequence. No doubt his collocation with Nathan, who denounced David's sin (2 Sam. xii.), is designed. Anselm (1033-1109), Archbishop of Canterbury, is known as the second father of scholasticism, Scotus Erigena (ninth century) being the first. Both alike endeavoured to show that the contents of natural reason and of revealed truth coincide. Donatus (fl. middle of fourth century) was the author of the grammar in current use, though the far more elaborate work of Priscian (fl. 500) was always recognised as the typical grammar. Priscian is mentioned in *Inf.* xv. 109.

139. Rabanus Maurus (c. 766-856), Bishop of Mayence. He compiled, amongst other works, a cyclopedia *De universo* in xxii. books. In the unsettled state of theology at the time, and in his zeal for orthodoxy, he came nigh himself to falling unawares into heresies concerning Predestination.

140. Joachim (c. 1130-1202) was the reputed author of many prophecies. He was also the first preacher of the doctrine that the dispensation of the Father (Old Testament) and of the Son (New Testament, and the Church as an institution) would be followed by the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, the period of perfection and freedom, without the necessity of disciplinary institutions. This was the "Everlasting Gospel"—a dispensation, not a book. Joachim was a Cistercian, not a Franciscan; but the Franciscan "Spirituals" were much influenced by him, and one of them, Gerardus by name, wrote a book entitled *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*. "Joachism" henceforth became a feature of the extreme Spiritual movement among the Franciscans, and as such was opposed by Bonaventura. Compare x. 136, *note*.

PARADISO

THE four and twenty brightest stars of heaven, ranged in two crowns, will give a feeble image of the two circles that swept round Dante and his guide (1-24). They sing of the Three Persons in the one nature of God and of the two natures in the one Person of Christ (25-27). Then they pause again, and Thomas once more speaks (28-33). He reads Dante's perplexity: "Did not both Adam and Christ possess all human knowledge in perfection? How then can it be that *none ever rose* to equal Solomon's wisdom?" (34-48). Behold the answer: All mortal and immortal things are but a reflection of the divine Idea—*i.e.* of the loving self-utterance of the divine power—which remains one in itself while it is broken into countless manifestations (49-66). But the imprinting influences of heaven and the imprinted matter of earth are not always in equally propitious habit, and hence individual diversities of excellence (67-72). But matter was perfectly disposed

Sole Imagini chi bene intender cupe
 quel ch' io or vidi (e ritenga l' image,
 mentre ch' io dico, come ferma rupe)
 quindici stelle che in diverse plage
 lo cielo avvivan di tanto sereno,
 che soperchia dell' aere ogni compage;
 imagini quel Carro, a cui il seno
 basta del nostro cielo e notte e giorno,
 sì ch' al volger del temo non vien meno;
 imagini la bocca di quel corno,
 che si comincia in punta dello stelo
 a cui la prima rota va dintorno,

CANTO XIII

and the heaven was in supreme excellence of power when Adam was created and when the Virgin conceived (73-84). Therefore Dante's initial supposition is true (85-87). But there is no contradiction; for Solomon desired not astronomical, nor logical, nor metaphysical, nor geometrical, but regal wisdom (88-105). Of all who ever *rose* to kingly rule (which Adam and Christ did not) none had such wisdom as Solomon (106-111). Let Dante take warning from this discussion and observe extremest caution in making unqualified deductions however obvious they may appear; for when once we are committed our own vanity prevents us from retreating and we had better not have thought about a problem than so thought as to fortify ourselves against the truth. Philosophy and Theology alike furnish sad examples (112-129). And seeming-obvious moral judgments may be as hasty and false as intellectual ones (130-142).

Let him imagine, who would grasp rightly what The
prudent
I now beheld (and let him hold the image
while I speak, like a firm rock),
fifteen of those stars that, in sundry regions,
quicken the heaven with such brightness as to
pierce all the knitted air,
let him imagine that wain for which the bosom
of our heaven sufficeth night and day, so that
it faileth not to the wain-pole's sweep,
let him imagine the mouth of that horn which
starteth from the axle round which the primal
circling goeth,

Sole aver fatto di sè due segni in cielo, 13
 qual fece la figliuola di Minoi
 allora che sentì di morte il gelo ;
 e l' un nell' altro aver li raggi suoi, 16
 ed ambedue girarsi per maniera,
 ch l' uno andasse al prima e l' altro al poi :
 ed avrà quasi l' ombra della vera 19
 costellazion e della doppia danza,
 che circolava il punto dov' io era ;
 poich' è tanto di là da nostra usanza, 22
 quanto di là dal mover della Chiana
 si move il ciel che tutti gli altri avanza.
 Lì si cantò non Bacco, non Peana, 25
 ma tre persone in divina natura,
 ed in una persona essa e l' umana.
 Compìè il cantare e il volger sua misura, 28
 ed attesersi a noi quei santi lumi,
 felicitando sè di cura in cura.
 Ruppe il silenzio nei concordi numi 31
 poscia la luce, in che mirabil vita
 del poverel di Dio narrata fumi,
 e disse : “ Quando l' una paglia è trita, 34
 quando la sua semenza è già riposta,
 a batter l' altra dolce amor m' invita.
 Tu credi che nel petto, onde la costa 37
 si trasse per formar la bella guancia,
 il cui palato a tutto il mondo costa,
 ed in quel che, forato dalla lancia, 40
 e poscia e prima tanto satisfece,
 che d' ogni colpa vince la bilancia,
 quantunque alla natura umana lece 42
 aver di lume, tutto fosse infuso
 da quel valor che l' uno e l' altro fece.

all to have made of themselves two signs in **The**
 heaven, such as Minos' daughter made when **prudent**
 she felt the chill of death ;

and one to have its rays within the other, and both
 the two to turn them in such fashion that one
 should take the lead, and the other follow ;
 and he shall have as though the shade of the real
 constellation and the twofold dance which
 circled round the point whereat I was ;

for it as far transcendeth our use as doth
 transcend the movement of Chiana the motion
 of that heaven which all the rest surpasseth.

There did they sing, not Bacchus, and not Pæan, **The hymn**
 but three Persons in the divine nature, and it
 and the human nature in one Person.

The song and wheeling had fulfilled their
 measure, and to us turned their heed those
 sacred torches, rejoicing as they passed from
 charge to charge.

Then 'mid the harmonious divinities silence was
 broken by the light wherein the wondrous life of
 the poor man of God had been rehearsed to me,
 which said : " Since the one sheaf is thrashed, **Thomas**
 and its seed stored already, to beat out the
 other sweet love inviteth me.

Thou holdest that into the breast wherefrom the **Adam**
 rib was drawn to form the beauteous cheek for
 whose palate all the world doth pay,
 and into that which, thrust by the lance, made **Christ**
 satisfaction both for past and future, such as
 to turn the scale against all trespass,
 such light as human nature may receive was all
 infused by that same Worth which made the
 one and the other.

- Sole E però ammiri ciò ch' io dissi suso, 46
quando narrai che non ebbe secondo
lo ben che nella quinta luce è chiuso.
- Ora apri gli occhi a quel ch' io ti rispondo, 49
e vedrai il tuo credere e il mio dire
nel vero farsi come centro in tondo.
- Ciò che non more e ciò che può morire 52
non è se non splendor di quella idea
che partorisce, amando, il nostro sire ;
- chè quella viva luce che sì mea 55
dal suo lucente, che non si disuna
da lui, nè dall' amor che a lor s' intrea,
- per sua bontate il suo raggiare aduna, 58
quasi specchiato, in nove sussistenze,
eternalmente rimanendosi una.
- Quindi discende all' ultime potenze 61
giù d' atto in atto tanto divenendo,
che più non fa che brevi contingenze ;
- e queste contingenze essere intendo 64
le cose generate, che produce
con seme e senza seme il ciel movendo.
- La cera di costoro, e chi la duce, 67
non sta d' un modo, e però sotto il segno
ideale poi più e men traluce :
- ond' egli avvien ch' un medesimo legno, 70
secondo specie, meglio e peggio frutta ;
e voi nascete con diverso ingegno.
- Se fosse a punto la cera dedutta, 73
e fosse il cielo in sua virtù suprema,
la luce del suggel parrebbe tutta ;
- ma la natura la dà sempre scema, 76
similmente operando all' artista,
ch' ha l' abito dell' arte e man che trema.

And so thou wonderest at what I said above, ^{The} when I declared the good enclosed in the ^{prudent} fifth light ne'er to have had a second.

Now ope thine eyes to what I answer thee, and thou shalt see what thou believest and what I say, strike on the truth as centre in the circle.

That which dieth not, and that which can die, ^{Creation} is nought save the reglow of that Idea which ^{and} our Sire, in Loving, doth beget ; ^{Emanation}

for that living Light which so outgoeth from its Source that it departeth not therefrom, nor from the Love that maketh three with them, doth, of its goodness, focus its own raying, as though reflected, in nine existences, eternally abiding one.

Thence it descendeth to the remotest potencies, down, from act to act, becoming such as maketh now mere brief contingencies ;

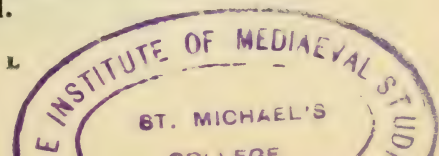
by which contingencies I understand the generated things which are produced from seed, or seedless, by the moving heaven.

The wax of these, and that which mouldeth ^{Matter} it, standeth not in one mode, and therefore, ^{and Form} 'neath the ideal stamp, is more and less transparent ;

whence cometh, that one same tree in kind better and worse doth fruit ; and ye are born with diverse genius.

Were the wax exactly moulded, and were the heaven in its supremest virtue, the light of the signet would be all apparent ;

but nature ever furnisheth it faulty, doing as doth the artist who hath the knack of the art and a trembling hand.



- Sole Però se il caldo amor, la chiara vista 79
 della prima virtù dispone e segna,
 tutta la perfezion quivi s' acquista.
- Così fu fatta già la terra degna 82
 di tutta l' animal perfezione :
 così fu fatta la Vergine pregna.
- Sì ch' io commendo tua opinione : 85
 che l' umana natura mai non fue,
 nè fia, qual fu in quelle due persone.
- Or, s' io non procedessi avanti piùè, 88
 'Dunque, come costui fu senza pare?'
 comincerebber le parole tue.
- Ma, perchè paia ben quel che non pare, 91
 pensa chi era, e la cagion che il mosse,
 quando fu detto : 'Chiedi,' a domandare.
- Non ho parlato sì che tu non posse 94
 ben veder ch' ei fu re, che chiese senno,
 acciocchè re sufficiente fosse ;
- non per saper lo numero in che enno 97
 li motor di quassù, o se *necesse*
 con contingente mai *necesse* fenno ;
- non, *si est dare primum motum esse*, 100
 o se del mezzo cerchio far si puote
 triangol sì ch' un retto non avesse.
- Onde, se ciò ch' io dissi e questo note, 103
 regal prudenza è quel vedere impari,
 in che lo stral di mia intenzion percote.
- E se al *surse* drizzi gli occhi chiari, 106
 vedrai aver solamente rispetto
 ai regi, che son molti, e i buon son rari.
- Con questa distinzion prendi il mio detto, 109
 e così puote star con quel che credi
 del primo padre e del nostro diletto.

Wherefore if the warm Love, if the clear ^{The}
 Vision, of the primal Power dispose and ^{prudent}
 stamp, entire perfection is acquired there.

Thua was the clay made worthy once of the full
 animal perfection; and thus the Virgin was
 impregnated.

Wherefore I sanction thine opinion that human
 nature never was, nor shall be, such as in
 those two persons.

Now, should I proceed no further, 'how then
 was he without a peer?' were the beginning
 of thy words.

But, that what now appeareth not may be ap- ^{Solomon's}
 parent, think who he was, and what the ^{choice}
 cause which moved him—when he was
 bidden: 'Choose,'—to make demand.

I have not spoken so but that thou mayst perceive
 he was a king, who chose such wit that as a
 king he might be adequate;

not to know the number in which exist the
 mover spirits here above, nor if a necessary
 and a contingent premise can ever give a
 necessary conclusion;

nor whether we must grant a *primum motum*; nor
 whether in a semicircle can be constructed a
 triangle that shall have no right angle.

Wherefore, (if this and all that I have said thou ^{His wisdom}
 note) that insight without peer whereon the
 arrow of my intention smiteth, is regal
 prudence.

And if to *rose* thou turn discerning eyes, thou
 shalt see that it hath respect only to kings, the
 which are many and the good ones few.

Thus qualified do thou accept my saying; and
 so it may consist with what thou holdest of
 the first father and of our delight.

- Sole** E questo ti sia sempre piombo ai piedi,
per farti mover lento, com' uom lasso,
ed al sì ed al no, che tu non vedi :
chè quegli è tra gli stolti bene abbasso,
che senza distinzion afferma o nega,
nell' un così come nell' altro passo ;
perch' egl' incontra che più volte piega
l' opinion corrente in falsa parte,
e poi l' affetto lo intelletto lega.
Vie più che indarno da riva si parte,
perchè non torna tal qual ei si move,
chi pesca per lo vero e non ha l' arte :
e di ciò sono al mondo aperte prove
Parmenide, Melisso, Brisso e molti
i quali andavano, e non sapean dove.
Sì fe' Sabellio ed Arrio, e quegli stolti
che furon come spade alle scritture
in render torti li dritti volti.
Non sien le genti ancor troppo sicure
a giudicar, sì come quei che stima
le biade in campo pria che sien mature :
ch' io ho veduto tutto il verno prima
il prun mostrarsi rigido e feroce,
poscia portar la rosa in su la cima ;
e legno vidi già dritto e veloce
correr lo mar per tutto suo cammino,
perire al fine all' entrar della foce.
Non creda donna Berta o ser Martino
per vedere un furare, altro offerere,
vedergli dentro al consiglio divino ;
chè quel può surgere, e quel può cadere.”

1-15. The seven bright stars of the Great Bear (which in our latitude never sets), the two brightest of the Little Bear (to which constellation the pole-

And let this ever be lead to thy feet, to make thee move slow, like a weary man ; both to the yea and nay thou seest not ;

The
prudent

for he is right low down amongst the fools who maketh affirmation or negation without distinction between case and case ;

wherefore it chanceth many times swift-formed opinion leaneth the wrong way, and then conceit bindeth the intellect.

Rash
judgments

Far worse than vainly doth he leave the shore, since he returneth not as he puts forth, who fisheth for the truth and hath not the art ;

and of this to the world are open proofs, Parmenides, Melissus, Bryson, and the host who still were going, but they knew not whither.

So did Sabellius and Arius, and those fools who were as swords unto the Scripture, in making the straight countenances crooked.

Let not folk yet be too secure in judgment, as who should count the ears upon the field ere they be ripe ;

Unfulfilled
expectations

for I have seen first all the winter through the thorn display itself hard and forbidding and then upon its summit bear the rose ;

and I have seen ere now a ship fare straight and swift over the sea through her entire course, and perish at the last, entering the harbour mouth.

Let not Dame Bertha or Squire Martin think, if they perceive one steal and one make offering, they therefore see them as in the divine counsel ; for the one yet may rise and the other fall."

star belongs), and fifteen others, not specified, make up the twenty-four required ; and the reader is to imagine them all arranged in a double Ariadne's crown.

23. The Chiana in Dante's time made its sluggish way southward to the Tiber through pestiferous swamps. It is taken as the type of the slowest motion, as the whirling of the *primum mobile* is of the swiftest.

34-36. Compare x. 94-96, 112-114; xi. 25.

52-66. Dante is careful in his use of *splendor* to signify reflected light (see i. 2, note). All created things then, are reflections of the Word, or Idea, of God. *Reflection* and *refraction* are not clearly differentiated; and in lines 58, 59, created things are spoken of as the points on which the rays of God are focussed, though the conception of the mirror is still retained. The "nine existences" (line 59) we take to be the nine heavens, which, as immediate creations of God, are not subject to change. But as the divine light descends upon and vivifies the remoter and duller potentialities of the *materia prima*, successively realising their possibilities (line 62), the result is contingent and short-lived. Compare with the whole passage, i. 103-142; ii. 112-148; vii. 64-72, 124-148; xxix. 13-36; and note that in the present passage and the lines that follow, the veiled dualism, which may constantly be traced in Dante's conception of the universe, becomes particularly prominent. The *prima materia*, though explicitly declared in xxix. 22, 34; vii. 136, to be the direct creation of God, is here and elsewhere treated as something external, on which his power acts and which answers only imperfectly to it. Compare *De Monarchia*, ii. 2: 20-38. *Conv.* iii. 12: 62-81. With line 66 compare *Purg.* xxviii. 103-120.

55-57. The Son emanating from the Father without separation from him or from the Holy Ghost.

68, 69. 'The better disposed the material the more completely it lets the ideal shine through it, when under the impress of the seal.'

79-81. The original is ambiguous. The translation (which is grammatically somewhat hazardous) takes it to mean that if both the wax is prepared and the stamp impressed immediately by the Deity, a perfect result will ensue.

82. The clay out of which Adam was made.

91-93. See 1 *Kings* iii. 5-15.

97-102. No disrespect is intended to the branches of

study here referred to. Solomon asked for practical, not philosophical or scientific, wisdom. The explanation, however, apart from its subtlety, is unsatisfactory; since the supreme position of Solomon amongst the sages and doctors of the Church hardly lends itself to it. On line 97 cf. *Conv.* ii. 6: 126-151. The problem of 98, 99, may be stated thus: It is a general principle that no limitation that occurs in either of the premises can be escaped in the conclusion. Thus, if either of the premises is negative you cannot get a positive conclusion; if either of them is particular you cannot get a general conclusion; if either is contingent you cannot get a necessary conclusion. For instance, from "The man on whom the lot falls *must* be sacrificed," and "The lot *may* fall on you," you can infer: "therefore you *may* be sacrificed," but not "therefore you *must* be sacrificed." Ingenious attempts to get a necessary conclusion out of a necessary and a contingent premise are exposed by the logicians, e.g., "Anyone who may run from the foe must be a coward; some of these troops may run from the foe, therefore some of them must be cowards." The fallacy lies in the ambiguous use of "may run from the foe." In the first instance it means, "is, as a matter of fact, capable of running away"; in the second, "may, for anything I know, run away." So that the two propositions do not hang together, and the conclusion is invalid.

100. Compare i. 1, *note*, and xxiv. 131, 132, *note*.

101, 102. See Euclid iii. 31. Euclid's *Elements* were in Dante's time, as in our own, the accepted text-book of Geometry. Compare *De Monarchia*, i. 1: 19-21.

109, 116. Compare xi. 27, *note*.

125. *De Monarchia*, iii. 4: 30-33. They were known to Dante only through Aristotle's refutations.

127. Sabellius († c. 265) confounded the persons of the Father and the Son; Arius († 336) divided their substance.

128, 129. Some take the allusion to be to the distorted reflections from the blade of a sword, others to hacking by sword-strokes.

139. For "Martin," as equivalent to "such an one," compare *Conv.* i. 8: 94, and iii. 11: 67. And for "Bertha," *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, ii. 6: 34.

PARADISO

AS vibrations pass outward and inward in a vessel filled with water, when disturbed by a blow, so the speech of the blessed spirits passed from Thomas in the circumference to Beatrice in the centre, and then back from her to the circumference (1-9). Dante has now become accustomed to the spirit world freed from those limitations of corporeal sense-organs of which he is himself still conscious, and the perplexity is diffusing itself within him, though not yet precipitated into definite thought, as to how it can be that the resurrection of the body shall not reimpose limitations and weariness upon the now emancipated souls, making the very glory of heaven painful. Or will that glory be then tempered? Beatrice requests an answer for this yet unspoken and even unthought demand; and when all have sung a hymn of praise, Solomon tells how human nature includes body and soul, and therefore the disembodied soul is less complete than the whole person when the soul shall be reclad with the glorified body. When more complete it will be more pleasing to God, and will so receive more of his grace (above its merit,

Sole Dal centro al cerchio, e sì dal cerchio al centro,
movesi l' acqua in un ritondo vaso,
secondo ch' è percossa fuori o dentro.

Nella mia mente fe' subito caso 4
questo ch' io dico, sì come si tacque
la gloriosa vita di Tommaso,

per la similitudine che nacque 7
del suo parlare e di quel di Beatrice,
a cui sì cominciar dopo lui piacque :

“ A costui fa mestieri, e nol vi dice 20
nè con la voce nè pensando ancora,
d' un altro vero andare alla radice.

CANTO XIV

though not given without relation thereto), and will thus see him more adequately and therefore love him more warmly and therein have greater joy, expressed in more dazzling brightness. But the organs of sense will be incapable of pain or weariness; no excess of delight will be beyond their joyous grasp (10-60). The souls quiver in response to the reference to the resurrection (61-66). A third circle shows itself, first in dubious faintness then with a sudden flash (67-78), at the very moment when Dante and his guide pass into the red-glowing Mars (79-87). A cross gleams white athwart the red planet (88-102), whereon Christ flashes in such fashion as tongue may not tell (103-108). Souls in light move and pass upon the limbs of the cross, uttering divine melody and singing hymns of victory but half comprehended by Dante, yet more entrancing than ought that he had hitherto experienced (109-129);—experienced *hitherto*, but he had not yet looked upon the beloved eyes of his guide in this fifth heaven, and therefore he must not be taken, by implication, to place the heavenly song above the ever deepening beauty of Beatrice's eyes (130-139).

From centre to circumference and again from The
prudent
circumference to centre vibrates the water in
a rounded vessel according as 'tis smitten from
without or from within.

Into my mind this thought dropped sudden, just
as the glorious life of Thomas held its peace,
because of the resemblance that sprang from his
discourse, and then from Beatrice's, whom to
begin thus after him it pleased:

“This man hath need, and telleth it you not,
neither with voice, nor as yet with his thought,
to track another truth unto its root.

- Sole** Ditegli se la luce, onde s' infiora 13
vostra sustanzia, rimarrà con voi
eternamente sì com' ella è ora ;
- e, se rimane, dite come, poi 16
che sarete visibili rifatti,
esser potrà ch' al veder non vi noi."
- Come da più letizia pinti e tratti 19
alla fiata quei che vanno a rota
levan la voce e rallegrano gli atti,
così all' orazion pronta e devota 22
li santi cerchi mostrar nuova gioia
nel tornear e nella mira nota.
- Qual si lamenta perchè qui si moia, 25
per viver colassù, non vide quive
lo refrigerio dell' eterna ploia.
- Quell' uno e due e tre che sempre vive, 28
e regna sempre in tre e due e uno,
non circonsritto, e tutto circonscrive,
- tre volte era cantato da ciascuno 31
di queglii spirti con tal melodia,
ch' ad ogni merto saria giusto muno.
- Ed io udi' nella luce più dia 34
del minor cerchio una voce modesta,
forse qual fu dall' angelo a Maria,
- risponder : " Quanto fia lunga la festa 37
di Paradiso, tanto il nostro amore
si raggerà dintorno cotal vesta.
- La sua chiarezza seguirà l' ardore, 40
l' ardor la visione, e quella è tanta,
quanta ha di grazia sopra il suo valore.
- Come la carne gloriosa e santa 43
fia rivestita, la nostra persona
più grata fia per esser tutta quanta.

Tell if the light wherewith your being blossometh, ^{The}
eternally will cleave to you as now, ^{prudent}

and if it doth remain, tell how, when ye grow
visible again, it may not grieve your vision."

As by access of gladness thrust and drawn, at
once all they who circle in the dance uplift
their voice and gladden their gestures,

so at the eager and devoted prayer the sacred
circles showed new joy in their revolving and
their wondrous note.

Whoso lamenteth that we here must die to live
up yonder seeth not here the refreshment of
the eternal shower.

That One and Two and Three who ever liveth
and reigneth ever in Three and Two and One,
not circumscribed, but all circumscribing,

three times was hymned by each one of those
spirits with such melody as were a fit reward
to any merit.

And I heard in the divinest light of the smaller ^{Solomon}
circle an unassuming voice, perchance such as
the Angel's unto Mary,

answering: "As long as the festival of Paradise
shall be, so long our love shall cast round us
the rays of such a garment.

Its brightness shall keep pace with our ardour,
our ardour with our vision, and that shall be as
great as it hath grace beyond its proper worth.

Whenas the garment of the glorified and sainted
flesh shall be resumed, our person shall be
more acceptable by being all complete.

- Sole** Per che s' accrescerà ciò che ne dona 46
 di gratuito lume il sommo bene ;
 lume ch' a lui veder ne condiziona :
 onde la vision crescer conviene, 49
 crescer l' ardor che di quella s' accende,
 crescer lo raggio che da esso viene.
- Ma** sì come carbon che fiamma rende, 52
 e per vivo candor quella soperchia
 sì che la sua parvenza si difende,
 così questo fulgor, che già ne cerchia, 55
 fia vinto in apparenza dalla carne
 che tutto dì la terra ricoperchia ;
 nè potrà tanta luce affaticarne, 58
 chè gli organi del corpo saran forti
 a tutto ciò che potrà dilettarne."
- Tanto** mi parver subiti ed accorti 61
 e l' uno e l' altro coro a dicer : *Amme*,
 che ben mostrar disio dei corpi morti ;
 forse non pur per lor, ma per le mamme, 64
 per li padri, e per gli altri che fur cari,
 anzi che fosser sempiterne fiamme.
- Ed** ecco intorno, di chiarezza pari, 67
 nascere un lustro sopra quel che v' era,
 a guisa d' orizzonte che rischiari.
- E** sì come al salir di prima sera 70
 comincian per lo ciel nuove parvenze,
 sì che la vista pare e non par vera ;
 parvemi lì novelle sussistenze 73
 cominciar a vedere, e fare un giro
 di fuor dall' altre due circonferenze.
- O** vero isfavillar del santo spiro, 76
 come si fece subito e candente
 agli occhi miei che vinti non soffriro !

Whereby shall grow that which the highest The
 Good giveth to us of unearned light, light prudent
 which enableth us him to see ;

wherefore the vision must needs wax, and wax
 the ardour which is kindled by it, and wax the
 ray which goeth forth from it.

But like the coal which giveth forth the flame, Future
 and by its living glow o'ercometh it, so that glory
 its own appearance is maintained,

so shall this glow which doth already swathe us,
 be conquered in appearance by the flesh which
 yet and yet the earth o'ercovereth ;

nor shall such light have power to baffle us, for
 the organs of the body shall be strong to all
 that may delight us."

So swift and eager to cry *Amen*, meseemed, was Resurrec-
 the one and the other chorus, that verily they tion of the
 showed desire for their dead bodies ; body

not only, as I take it, for themselves, but for
 their mothers and their fathers and the others
 who were dear, ere they became eternal
 flames.

And lo ! around, of lustre equable, upspring a The third
 shining beyond what was there, in fashion of circle
 a brightening horizon.

And as, at the first rise of evening, new things-
 to-see begin to show in heaven, so that the
 sight doth, yet doth not, seem real ;

I there began perceive new-come existences
 making a circle out beyond the other two
 circumferences.

Oh very sparkling of the Holy Breath ! how
 sudden and how glowing it became before my
 eyes, which, vanquished, might not bear it !

- Salita** Ma Beatrice sì bella e ridente 79
 mi si mostrò, che tra quelle vedute
 si vuol lasciar che non seguir la mente.
- Quindi ripreser gli occhi miei virtute 80
 a rilevarsi, e vidimi translato
 sol con mia donna in più alta salute.
- Marte** Ben m' accors' io ch' io era più levato, 85
 per l' affocato riso della stella,
 che mi pareva più roggio che l' usato.
- Con tutto il core, e con quella favella 88
 ch' è una in tutti, a Dio feci olocausto,
 qual conveniasi alla grazia novella ;
- e non er' anco del mio petto esausto 91
 l'ardor del sacrificio, ch' io conobbi
 esso litare stato accetto e fausto ;
- chè con tanto lucore e tanto robbi 94
 m' apparvero splendor dentro a due raggi
 ch' io dissi : “ O Elios che sì gli addobbi ! ”
- Come, distinta da minori e maggi 97
 lumi, biancheggia tra i poli del mondo
 Galassia sì che fa dubbiar ben saggi,
- sì costellati facean nel profondo 100
 Marte quei rai il venerabil segno,
 che fan giunture di quadranti in tondo.
- Qui vince la memoria mia lo ingegno : 103
 chè quella croce lampeggiava Cristo,
 sì ch' io non so trovare esempio degno.
- Ma chi prende sua croce e segue Cristo, 106
 ancor mi scuserà di quel ch' io lasso,
 vedendo in quell' albor balenar Cristo.
- Di corno in corno, e tra la cima e il basso, 109
 si movean lumi, scintillando forte
 nel congiungersi insieme e nel trapasso.

But Beatrice showed herself to me so beauteous ^{The} and smiling, it must be left amongst those ^{courageous} sights that followed not my memory.

Therefrom my eyes regained their power to uplift them, and I saw me transported, only with my Lady, to more exalted weal.

Surely did I perceive that I was more uplifted ^{The glow of} by the enkindled smile of the star which ^{the planet} seemed to me more ruddy than his wont.

With all the heart, and in that tongue which is one unto all, to God I made burnt sacrifice such as befitted this new-given grace ;

and not yet from my bosom was drawn out the ardour of the sacrifice before I knew the prayer had been accepted and propitious ;

for with such shining, and so ruddy, within two rays, splendours appeared to me, that I exclaimed : “ O God ! who thus dost glorify them ! ”

As, pricked out with less and greater lights, between the poles of the universe the Milky Way so gleameth white as to set very sages questioning,

so did those rays, star-decked, make in the ^{The Cross} depth of Mars the venerable sign which ^{of Mars} crossing quadrant lines make in a circle.

Here my memory doth outrun my wit, for that cross so flashed forth Christ I may not find example worthy.

But whoso taketh his cross and followeth Christ shall yet forgive me what I leave unsaid, when he shall see Christ lighten in that glow.

From horn to horn, from summit unto base, were moving lights that sparkled mightily in meeting one another and in passing.

- Marte Così si veggion qui diritte e torte, 112
 veloci e tarde, rinnovando vista,
 le minuzie dei corpi, lunghe e corte,
 moversi per lo raggio, onde si lista 115
 talvolta l' ombra, che per sua difesa
 la gente con ingegno ed arte acquista.
 E come giga ed arpa, in tempra tesa 118
 di molte corde, fa dolce tintinno
 a tal da cui la nota non è intesa,
 così dai lumi che lì m' apparinno 121
 s' accogliea per la croce una melode,
 che mi rapiva senza intender l' inno.
 Ben m' accors' io ch' ell' era d' alte lode, 124
 però che a me venia: " Risurgi e vinci,"
 com' a colui che non intende ed ode.
 Io m' innamorava tanto quinci, 127
 che infino a lì non fu alcuna cosa
 che mi legasse con sì dolci vinci.
 Forse la mia parola par tropp' osa, 130
 posponendo il piacer degli occhi belli,
 nei quai mirando mio disio ha posa.
 Ma chi s' avvede che i vivi suggelli 133
 d' ogni bellezza più fanno più suso,
 e ch' io non m' era lì rivolto a quelli,
 escusar puommi di quel ch' io m' accuso 136
 per escusarmi, e vedermi dir vero:
 chè il piacer santo non è qui dischiuso,
 perchè si fa, montando, più sincero. 139

34. Solomon. Compare x. 109.

45. Compare *Inf.* vi. 103-111. Aquinas says: "The soul without the body hath not the perfection of its nature."

46-51. Compare xxviii. 106-111.

So we see here, straight, twisted, swift, or slow, ^{The}
 changing appearance, long or short, the motes ^{courageous}
 of bodies

moving through the ray which doth sometimes
 streak the shade, which folk with skill and art
 contrive for their defence.

And as viol and harp tuned in harmony of many
 cords, make sweet chiming to one by whom
 the notes are not apprehended

so from the lights that there appeared to me
 was gathered on the cross a strain that rapt
 me albeit I followed not the hymn.

Well I discerned it was of lofty praise, for there ^{Song of}
 came to me "Rise thou up and conquer," as to ^{victory}
 who understandeth not, but heareth.

And so was I enamoured there, that up till then
 there had been naught that me had bound with
 so sweet chains.

Perchance my saying may appear too bold, as ^{Beatrice}
 slighting the delight of those fair eyes, gazing
 in which my longing hath repose.

But he who doth advise him how the living sig-
 nets of all beauty have ever more effect in higher
 region, and that I there had not yet turned to
 them,

may find excuse from my own accusation, brought
 that I may excuse it ; and may see that I speak
 truth ; for the sacred joy is not excluded here,
 which as it mounteth groweth more unalloyed.

64-66. Bernard writes on the resurrection of the
 body in his treatise *On loving God*. It is his consistent
 doctrine that the blessedness of heaven is found in the
 complete absorption of the soul in God, self-conscious-
 ness being, as it were, replaced not by unconsciousness

but by God-consciousness. "But if, as is not denied, they [the disembodied spirits of the blessed] would fain have received their bodies again, or at any rate desire and hope to receive them, it is clear beyond question that they are not yet utterly transmuted from themselves, since it is admitted that there is still somewhat proper to themselves toward which, though it be but a little, their thought is deflected. Therefore, until death be swallowed up in victory, and the perennial light so invade the boundaries of darkness and take possession of them on every side that the celestial glory shine forth even in the very bodies, the souls cannot utterly empty themselves and pass over into God, since they are even yet bound to their bodies, if not by life and sense, yet by natural affection, because of which they have neither the will nor the power to be consummated without them. And so, before the restoration of the bodies there cannot be that lapse of the souls [into God] which is their perfect and supreme state. Nor is it any marvel if the body, now of glory, seem to confer somewhat upon the spirit, since even in its infirmity and mortality it of a surety was of no small avail to it. Oh how true did he speak who said that all things work together for the good of them

that love God! To the soul that loveth God, its body availeth in its infirmity, availeth in its death, availeth in its resurrection; first for the fruit of penitence, second for repose, third for consummation. And rightly doth the soul not will to be made perfect without that which it feeleth hath in every state served it in good things."

67-78. Line 76 makes it clear that this third circle specially represents the Holy Spirit, and so completes the symbol of the Trinity. Compare xxxiii. 115.

In its dimness at first and brightness afterwards, there may be a reference to the difficulty that has always been experienced in finding an adequate *philosophical* basis for the doctrine of the Third Person of the Trinity corresponding to the clearness of the distinction between the conceptions of God in his essence (Father) and God as manifested (Son); whereas to the more strictly *theological* speculation, or rather to the religious experience, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit (God regarded not as the Creator or the Redeemer, but as the Inspirer) has always had a special vividness. Compare xii. 140, *note*.

99. Compare *Conv.* ii. 15: 44-86, a passage interesting on many grounds.

PARADISO

THE souls of the warriors of God upon the cross of Mars cease their hymn, that Dante may converse with one of their number, who shoots like a falling star from his place and, approaching Dante with such joy as Anchises showed to Æneas in the Elysian fields, greets him as his offspring and as the recipient of unique grace, the twice-received (now and at his death) of heaven (1-30). Dante, giving heed to him and (now first in this higher sphere) looking on Beatrice, is smitten with two-fold marvel (31-36). The spirit, after rapturous words beyond the scope of the poet's comprehension, gives thanks to God, tells Dante how eager yet how sweet has been his longing for his arrival, fore-read in the heavens; confirms his thought that the spirits see all things in God, as the true mathematician

Marte Benigna voluntade, in cui si liqua
 sempre l' amor che drittamente spira,
 come cupidità fa nell' iniqua,
 silenzio pose a quella dolce lira, 4
 e fece quietar le sante corde,
 che la destra del cielo allenta e tira.
 Come saranno ai giusti preghi sorde 7
 quelle sustanzie, che, per darmi voglia
 ch' io le pregassi, a tacer fur concorde?
 Ben è che senza termine si doglia 10
 chi, per amor di cosa che non duri,
 eternalmente quell' amor si spoglia.
 Quale per li seren tranquilli e puri 13
 discorre ad ora ad or subito foco,
 movendo gli occhi che stavan sicuri,
 e pare stella che tramuti loco, 16
 se non che dalla parte ond' ei s' accende
 nulla sen perde, ed esso dura poco ;

CANTO XV

sees all number in the conception of unity; but bids him none the less speak out his questions, though already known to him, in God, with their appointed answers (37-69). Dante, unlike the souls in glory, has no utterance adequate to show forth his thanks (70-84). The spirit, in answer to his question, reveals himself as his great-great-grandfather, the father of Alighieri from whom the poet's family name is derived (85-96). He describes the ancient Florence, confined within the walls to which the Badia was adjacent, and dwells upon the simple ways of her citizens (97-129). In such a city was he born, baptised and married (130-138). Thence he followed Conrad in his crusade, was knighted, was slain, and arose to the peace of heaven (139-148).

The benign will—wherein distilleth ever the love
that hath the right perfume, as doth, in the
grudging will, cupidity—

The
courageous

imposed silence on that sweet lyre and stilled the
sacred strings, which the right hand of heaven
looseneth and stretcheth.

Silence in
Heaven

How shall those beings unto righteous prayers be
deaf, who, to excite in me the will to make
my prayer to them, agreed in silence?

Right is it he should grieve without a limit, who,
for the love of what endureth not, eternally
doth strip him of this love.

As through the tranquil and pure skies darteth,
from time to time, a sudden flame setting a-
moving eyes that erst were steady,

seeming a star that changeth place, save that
from where it kindleth no star is lost, and
that itself endureth but a little;

- Marte tale, dal corno che in destro si stende, 19
 al piè di quella croce corse un astro
 della costellazion che lì risplende :
 nè si partì la gemma dal suo nastro, 22
 ma per la lista radial trascorse,
 che parve foco retro ad alabastro.
 Sì pia l' ombra d' Anchise si porse, 25
 se fede merta nostra maggior musa,
 quando in Elisio del figlio s' accorse.
" O sanguis meus, o superinfusa 28
gratia Dei, sicut tibi, cui
bis unquam coeli ianua reclusa ? "
 Così quel lume ; ond' io m' attesi a lui, 31
 poscia rivolsi alla mia donna il viso,
 e quindi e quindi stupefatto fui :
 chè dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso 34
 tal ch' io pensai co' miei toccar lo fondo
 della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso.
 Indi, a udire ed a veder giocondo, 37
 giunse lo spirto al suo principio cose
 ch' io non intesi, sì parlò profondo :
 nè per elezion mi si nascose, 40
 ma per necessità, chè il suo concetto
 al segno dei mortal si soprappose.
 E quando l' arco dell' ardente affetto 43
 fu sì sfocato, che il parlar discese
 in ver lo segno del nostro intelletto ;
 la prima cosa che per me s' intese, 46
 " Benedetto sie tu, fu, trino ed uno,
 che nel mio seme sei tanto cortese."
 E seguitò : " Grato e lontan digiuno, 49
 tratto leggendo nel magno volume
 u' non si muta mai bianco nè bruno,

such from the horn that stretcheth to the right **The**
 unto that cross's foot, darted a star of the con- **courageous**
 stellation that is there a-glow ;

nor did the gem depart from off its riband, but
 coursed along the radial line, like fire burning
 behind alabaster.

With suchlike tenderness Anchises' shade prof-
 fered itself, if our greatest Muse deserveth
 credit, when in Elysium he perceived his son.

"Oh blood of mine ! oh grace of God poured
 o'er thee ! to whom, was ever twice, as unto
 thee, heaven's gate thrown open ?"

So spake that light ; wherefore I gave my heed **Dante and**
 to him. Then I turned back my sight unto **Beatrice**
 my Lady, and on this side and that I was
 bemazed ;

for in her eyes was blazing such a smile, I
 thought with mine I had touched the bottom
 both of my grace and of my Paradise.

Then—joyous both to hearing and to sight— **Caccia-**
 the spirit added things to his beginning I **guida**
 understood not, so profound his speech ;

neither of choice hid he himself from me, but
 of necessity, for above the target of mortals
 his thought took its place.

And when the bow of ardent love was so
 tempered that his discourse descended to-
 wards the target of our intellect ;

the first I understood was, "Blessed be thou,
 thou Three and One, who art so greatly
 courteous in my seed."

And followed on : "A dear long-cherished
 hunger, drawn from the reading of the
 mighty volume wherein not changeth ever
 white nor black,

- Marte** soluto hai, figlio, dentro a questo lume 30
 in ch' io ti parlo, mercè di colei
 ch' all' alto volo ti vestì le piume.
- Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei 55
 da quel ch' è primo, così come raia
 dall' un, se si conosce, il cinque e il sei ;
- e però chi io mi sia, e perch' io paia 58
 più gaudioso a te, non mi domandi,
 che alcun altro in questa turba gaia.
- Tu credi il vero ; chè minori e grandi 61
 di questa vita miran nello specchio,
 in che, prima che pensi, il pensier pandi.
- Ma perchè il sacro amore, in che io veglio 64
 con perpetua vista e che m' asseta
 di dolce disiar, s' adempia meglio,
- la voce tua sicura, balda e lieta 67
 suoni la volontà, suoni il disio,
 a che la mia risposta è già decreta.”
- Io mi volsi a Beatrice, e quella udio 70
 pria ch' io parlassi, ed arrosemi un cenno
 che fece crescer l' ali al voler mio.
- Poi cominciai così : “ L' affetto e il senno, 73
 come la prima equalità v' apparse,
 d' un peso per ciascun di voi si fenno ;
- però che il sol, che v' allumò ed arse 76
 col caldo e con la luce, è sì iguali,
 che tutte simiglianze sono scarse.
- Ma voglia ed argomento nei mortali, 79
 per la cagion ch' a voi è manifesta,
 diversamente son pennuti in ali.
- Ond' io che son mortal, mi sento in questa 82
 disaguaglianza, e però non ringrazio
 se non col core alla paterna festa.

thou hast assuaged, my son, within this light, The courageous
wherein I speak to thee; thanks unto her
who for the lofty flight clad thee with wings.

Thou deemest that to me thy thought hath way
e'en from the primal Thought, as ray forth
from the monad, rightly known, the pentad
and the hexad;

and therefore, who I be, or why I seem to thee
more gladsome than another in this festive
throng thou makest not demand.

Rightly thou deemest; for less and great in this
life gaze on the mirror whereon, or ere thou
thinkest, thou dost outspread thy thought.

But that the sacred love, wherein I watch with
sight unintermitted, and which setteth me
athirst with a sweet longing, may be fulfilled
the better,

secure and bold and joyous let thy voice sound
forth the will, sound forth the longing, whereto
my answer already is decreed."

I turned to Beatrice, and she heard ere that I
spoke, and granted me a signal that made the
wings of my desire increase.

Then I thus began: "Love and intelligence, Dante
soon as the prime equality appeared to you,
became of equal poise to each of you,

because the sun which lightened you and warmed
with heat and brightness hath such equality
that illustrations all fall short of it.

But unto mortals, will and instrument, for reason
manifest to you, unequally are feathered in
their wings.

Wherefore I, a mortal, feel the stress of this
unequalness, and therefore only with my heart
give thanks for the paternal greeting.

- Marte** Ben supplico io a te, vivo topazio, 85
 che questa gioia preziosa ingemmi,
 perchè mi facci del tuo nome sazio.”
- “ O fronda mia, in cu’ io compiacemmi 88
 pure aspettando, io fui la tua radice ” ;
 cotal principio, rispondendo, femmi.
- Poscia mi disse : “ Quel da cui si dice 91
 tua cognazion, e che cent’ anni e più
 girato ha il monte in la prima cornice,
 mio figlio fu, e tuo bisavo fue : 94
 ben si convien che la lunga fatica
 tu gli raccorci con l’ opere tue.
- Fiorenza, dentro dalla cerchia antica, 97
 ond’ ella toglie ancora e terza e nona,
 si stava in pace, sobria e pudica.
- Non avea catenella, non corona, 100
 non donne contigiate, non cintura
 che fosse a veder più che la persona.
- Non faceva, nascendo, ancor paura 103
 la figlia al padre, chè il tempo e la dote
 non fuggian quinci e quindi la misura.
- Non avea case di famiglia vote ; 106
 non v’ era giunto ancor Sardanapalo
 a mostrar cio che in camera si puote.
- Non era vinto ancora Montemalo 109
 dal vostro Uccellatoio, che, com’ è vinto
 nel montar su, così sarà nel calo.
- Bellincion Berti vid’ io andar cinto 112
 di cuoio e d’ osso, e venir dallo specchio
 la donna sua senza il volto dipinto ;
- e vidi quel del Nerlo e quel del Vecchio 115
 esser contenti alla pelle scoperta,
 e le sue donne al fuso ed al pennecchio.

But I may and do entreat thee, living topaz, who dost be-gem this precious jewel, that thou assuage me with thy name.” The courageous

“ Oh leaf of mine, in whom I took delight, only expecting thee, I was thy taproot,” such opening in his answer made he me. Caccia-guida

Then said : “ He from whom thy kindred hath its name, and who a hundred years and more hath circled round the Mount on the first terrace,

was son to me, and thy grandfather’s father ; meet it is, that with thy works thou shouldst abate his long-stretched toil for him.

Florence, within the ancient circling wherefrom she still receiveth tierce and nones, abode in peace, sober and chaste. Florence in olden time

There was no chain or coronet, nor dames decked out, nor girdle that should set folk more a-gaze than she who wore it.

As yet the daughter’s birth struck not the father with dismay ; for wedding day and dowry evaded not the measure on this side and on that.

There were no mansions empty of the household ; Sardanapalus had not yet arrived to show what may be done within the chamber.

Not yet was Montemalo overpassed by your Uccellatoio, which, as it hath been passed in the uprising, shall be in the fall.

Bellincion Berti have I seen go girt with bone and leather, and his dame come from her mirror with unpainted face ;

I have seen him of the Nerlo, and him of the Vecchio, content with the skin jerkin and nought over it, and their dames at the spindle and the flax.

- Marte** O fortunate ! ciascuna era certa 118
della sua sepoltura, ed ancor nulla
era per Francia nel letto deserta.
- L' una vegghiava a studio della culla, 121
e consolando usava l' idioma
che pria li padri e le madri trastulla ;
- l' altra traendo alla rocca la chioma, 124
favoleggiava con la sua famiglia
dei Troiani, di Fiesole e di Roma.
- Saria tenuta allor tal meraviglia, 127
una Cianghella, un Lapo Salterello,
qual or saria Cincinnato o Corniglia.
- A così riposato, a così bello 130
viver di cittadini, a così fida
cittadinanza, a così dolce ostello,
- Maria mi diè, chiamata in alte grida, 133
e nell' antico vostro Batisteo
insieme fui Cristiano e Cacciaguida.
- Moronto fu mio frate ed Eliseo ; 136
mia donna venne a me di val di Pado,
e quindi il soprannome tuo si feo.
- Poi seguitai lo imperador Currado, 139
ed ei mi cinse della sua milizia,
tanto per bene oprar gli venni in grado.
- Retro gli andai incontro alla nequizia 142
di quella legge, il cui popolo usurpa,
per colpa dei pastor, vostra giustizia.
- Quivi fu' io da quella gente turpa 145
disviluppato dal mondo fallace,
il cui amor molte anime deturpa,
e venni dal martiro a questa pace." 148

25-27. For the meeting of Anchises and Æneas, see *Æneid*, vi. 679, 199. For family tree, see p. 373.

Oh happy they, each one of them secure of her burial-place, and none yet deserted in her couch because of France. The
courage

The one kept watch in minding of the cradle, and soothing spake that speech which first delighteth fathers and mothers ;

another, as she drew its locks from the distaff, would tell her household about the Trojans, and Fiesole, and Rome.

Then a Cianghella, or a Lapo Salterello, would have been as great a marvel as now would Cincinnatus or Cornelia. Changed
manners

To so reposeful and so fair a life among the citizens, to so faithful cityhood, to so sweet abode,

Mary — with deep wailings summoned — gave me ; and, in your ancient Baptistery, at once a Christian I became and Cacciaguida.

Moronto was my brother and Eliseo ; my wife came to me from Po valley, and from her was thy surname derived.

Then followed I the Emperor Conrad, who girt me with his knighthood, so much by valiant work did I advance me in his grace. Caccia-
guida's
death

In his train I marched against the infamy of that Law whose people doth usurp, shame to the pastors, what is yours by right.

There by that foul folk was I unswathed of the deceitful world, whose love befouled many a soul, and came from martyrdom unto this peace."

62. God.

73-81. God who is the supreme "equality," i e., in

whom all things realise their absolute proportion and perfection (*cf.* xxxiii. 103-105), fills the blessed spirits with love and insight in equal measure, so that their utterance is the perfect expression of their emotion, but we mortals find our wills out-flying our power of utterance.

92. Dante has fallen into a slight error. There is documentary evidence that this Alighieri was living in 1201.

98. An allusion to the Badia, from the belfry of which the canonical hours were sounded. Tierce was at nine o'clock, nones at twelve. *Conv.* iii. 6: 12-32.

105. The bride's age too little, her dowry too much.

106. The families being decayed, or in exile.

107. Sardanapālus, king of Nineveh, is taken as the general type of luxury.

109. Montemalo, or Montemario, was the first point at which the traveller on the road from Viterbo came in sight of Rome, and the Uccellatojo is the first place at which the traveller along the *old* road from Bologna comes in sight of Florence.

112. Bellincion Berti was the father of the "good Gualdrada" (*Inf.* xvi. 37). See Villani, v. 37.

118-120. None was in fear lest she should die in exile. The reference to France is obscure; perhaps it alludes to the frequency of travel in France, in Dante's time, for business or other purposes.

126. Compare the early chapters of Villani.

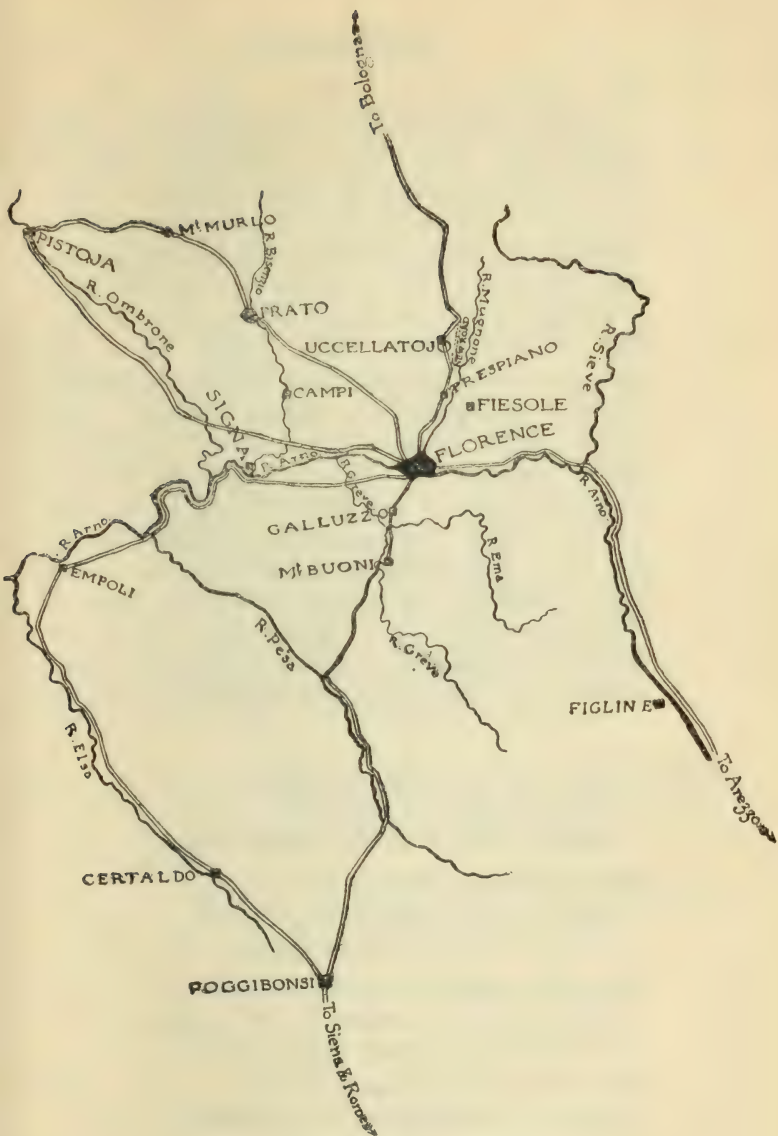
128. Cianghella della Tosa, a notorious shrew, married an Imolose. Benvenuto da Imola, declares he could tell us many tales of her. Lapo Salterello, took an active part in the patriotic task of resisting the encroachments of Boniface (see Gardner, i. 4, "the Jubilee," &c.), but appears to have been a worthless person. He was one of Dante's fellow exiles. *Cf.* xvii. 61-63.

133. The Virgin Mary was invoked by women in labour, as the virgin goddess Diana had been in Pagan times. *Cf.* *Purg.* xx. 19-21.

136. The name Eliseo may be taken as an indication, but not as a proof, of the connection of the Alighieri with the noble family of the Elisei, asserted by Boccaccio. Compare xvi. 40-42: and Gardner, i. 2.

139. Conrad III. (reigned 1137-1152) joined Bernard's crusade in 1147.

143. *Law* here as elsewhere = "Religion." See *Conv.* ii. 9: 69-72.



PARADISO

IN profound reverence for his ancestor, and not without a sense of his own derived dignity, Dante addresses the spirit with the ceremonious plural *ye*, said to have originated in Rome, though no longer in use there; and hereon Beatrice (only moderately interested in Florentine antiquities, and so standing a little apart, but keenly alert to all that may effect the moral or spiritual weal of her charge) checks his rising vanity with a warning smile (1-15). Dante, full of such lofty joy as would on earth strain the mind to bursting, questions Cacciaguida as to ancient Florence (16-27), whereon he, in the speech of an earlier day, tells the date of his birth and the place where his forebears dwelt, declining, in enigmatical terms, to say more of them (28-45). The population of military age was then but a fifth of what it had since become, and the narrow limits of the territory of Florence kept the blood of her citizens pure. Would that it were so yet! But lust of power, the confusion resulting from Papal ambition, and the fatal quarrel between the Buondel-

Marte O poca nostra nobiltà di sangue !
se gloriar di te la gente fai
quaggiù, dove l' affetto nostro langue,

mirabil cosa non mi sarà mai ;

chè là, dove appetito non si torce,
dico nel cielo, io me ne gloriai.

Ben sei tu manto che tosto raccorce,
sì che, se non s' appon di dìe in dìe,
lo tempo va dintorno con le force.

Dal voi che prima Roma sofferie,
in che la sua famiglia men persevra,
ricominciaron le parole mie ;

CANTO XVI

monti and Amidei, have ruined all, and have given unwieldy bulk to Florence while polluting her blood (46-72). Then follows a dirge on the great families of ancient Florence, introduced by tragic reflections on the tide-like instability of all earthly things. Many of these families are mentioned by name, others are indicated by their characteristics or their blazon (73-126). Count Hugo ennobled the six families that bear his coat of arms, with various differences, though Giano della Bella had since joined the people (127-132). The Gualterotti and Importuni were already in Florence, but the Buondelmonti were not yet—would that they had never been!—their neighbours. The Amidei and their associates were held in honour. Alas that Buondelmonte broke his marriage word with them, and gave rise to all the internal strife of Florence. How much ill had been avoided if God had plunged him into the Ema as he rode into Florence. But it was fated that she should make her sacrifice to that torso of Mars, at whose feet he was slain (133-154).

Ah puny blood-nobility of ours! If thou makest
 folk glory in thee here below, where our affec-
 tions sicken,

The cons-
ageous

it shall be marvel to me never more; for there,
 where appetite is unwarped, I mean in heaven,
 I gloried me therein.

Pride of
Birth

Yet verily thou art a mantle that soon shrinketh,
 so that, if day by day there be nought added,
 time goeth round with the shears.

With that *ye* that Rome was first to allow
 wherein her household doth least persevere,
 my words began again;

- Marte** onde Beatrice, ch' era un poco scevra, 13
 ridendo, parve quella che tossio
 al primo fallo scritto di Ginevra.
- Io** cominciai: " Voi siete il padre mio, 16
 voi mi date a parlar tutta baldezza,
 voi mi levate sì ch' io son più ch' io.
- Per** tanti rivi s' empie d' allegrezza 19
 la mente mia, che di sè fa letizia,
 perchè può sostener che non si spezza.
- Ditemi** dunque, cara mia primizia, 22
 quai fur li vostri antichi, e quai fur gli anni
 che si segnaro in vostra puerizia.
- Ditemi** dell' ovil di San Giovanni 25
 quanto era allora, e chi eran le genti
 tra esso degne di più alti scanni."
- Come** s' avviva allo spirar dei venti 28
 carbone in fiamma, così vidi quella
 luce risplendere ai miei blandimenti;
- e** come agli occhi miei si fe' più bella, 31
 così con voce più dolce e soave,
 ma non con questa moderna favella,
- dissemi**: " Da quel dì che fu detto *Ave* 34
 al parto in che mia madre, ch' è or santa,
 s' alleviò di me ond' era grave,
- al** suo Leon cinquecento cinquanta 37
 e trenta fiate venne questo foco
 a rinfiammarsi sotto la sua pianta.
- Gli** antichi miei ed io nacqui nel loco, 40
 dove si trova pria l' ultimo sesto
 da quel che corre il vostro annual gioco.
- Basti** dei miei maggiori udirne questo; 43
 chi ei si furo, ed onde venner quivi,
 più è tacer, che ragionare, onesto.

whereon Beatrice, who was a little sundered from us, smiled, and seemed to me like her who coughed at the first trespass writ of Guinivere. The courageous

I began : " Ye are my father, ye give me full boldness to speak, ye so uplift me, that I am more than I. Dante

By so many streams my mind is filled with gladness, it giveth itself joy that it can bear it and yet not be rent.

Tell me, then, dear stock from which I spring, what was your ancestry, and what the years recorded in your boyhood.

Tell me of the sheepfold of St John, how great it then was, and who were the folk worthy of loftiest seats in it."

As a coal quickeneth into flame at the wind's breathing, so did I see that light glow forth at my caressing words ;

and even as to my sight it grew more beauteous, so with a voice more sweet and gentle, but not in this our modern dialect,

he said : " From the day on which *Ave* was uttered, to the birth wherein my mother, now sainted, unburdened her of me with whom she was laden, Cacciaguida

five hundred, fifty, and thirty times did this flame return to his own Lion to rekindle him beneath his feet.

My forebears and myself were born in the spot where he who runneth in your annual games doth first encounter the last sesto.

About my ancestors let it suffice so much to hear ; of who they were and whence they hither came silence were comelier than discourse.

- Marte** Tutti color ch' a quel tempo eran ivi 46
 da poter arme, tra Marte e il Batista,
 erano il quinto di quei che son vivi.
- Ma la cittadinanza, ch' è or mista 49
 di Campi, di Certaldo e di Fighine,
 pura vedeasi nell' ultimo artista.
- O quanto fora meglio esser vicine 52
 quelle genti ch' io dico, ed al Galluzzo
 ed a 'Trespiano aver vostro confine,
- che averle dentro, e sostener lo puzzo 55
 del villan d' Aguglion, di quel da Signa,
 che già per barattare ha l' occhio aguzzo !
- Se la gente, ch' al mondo più traligna, 58
 non fosse stata a Cesare noverca,
 ma, come madre a suo figliuol, benigna,
- tal fatto è Fiorentino, e cambia e merca, 61
 che si sarebbe volto a Simifonti,
 là dove andava l' avolo alla cerca.
- Sariasi Montemurlo ancor dei Conti, 64
 sariansi i Cerchi nel pivier d' Acone,
 e forse in Val di Greve i Buondelmonti.
- Sempre la confusion delle persone 67
 principio fu del mal della cittade,
 come del corpo il cibo che s' appone.
- E cieco toro più avaccio cade 70
 che 'l cieco agnello, e molte volte taglia
 più e meglio una che le cinque spade.
- Se tu riguardi Luni ed Urbisaglia 73
 come son ite, e come se ne vanno
 di retro ad esse Chiusi e Sinigaglia ;
- udir come le schiatte si disfanno, 76
 non ti parrà nuova cosa nè forte,
 poscia che le cittadi termine hanno.

At that time all who were there, between Mars The courageous
and the Baptist, capable of arms, were but the
fifth of the now living ones.

But the citizenship, contaminated now from
Campi, from Certaldo and from Figline,
saw itself pure down to the humblest artizan.

Oh, how much better were it for these folk of
whom I speak to be your neighbours, and to
have your boundary at Galluzzo and at Tres-
piano,

than to have them within, and bear the stench of Undue growth of Florence
the hind of Aguglion, and of him of Signa,
who still for jobbery hath his eye alert !

Had the race, which goeth most degenerate on
earth, not been to Cæsar as a step-mother,
but, as a mother to her son, benign,

one who is now a Florentine and changeth coin and
wares, had been dispatched to Simifonte, where
his own grandfather went round a-begging.

Still would Montemurlo pertain unto the Conti,
still were the Cerchi in Acone parish, and per-
chance in Valdigreve were still the Buondel-
monti.

Ever was mingling of persons the source of the
city's woes, as piled on food is of the body's.

And a blind bull falleth more presently than a Unwieldy bulk
blind lamb, and many a time cutteth one
sword better and more than five.

If thou regard Luni and Urbisaglia, how they
have perished, and how are following them
Chiusi and Sinigaglia ;

it shall not seem a novel or hard thing to hear
how families undo themselves, since even
cities have their term.

- Marte** Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte, 79
 sì come voi; ma celasi in alcuna
 che dura molto, e le vite son corte.
- E come il volger del ciel della luna 82
 copre ed iscopre i liti senza posa,
 così fa di Fiorenza la fortuna;
- per che non dee parer mirabil cosa 85
 ciò ch' io dirò degli alti Fiorentini,
 onde la fama nel tempo è nascosa.
- Io vidi gli Ughi, e vidi i Catellini, 88
 Filippi, Greci, Ormanni ed Aberichi,
 già nel calare, illustri cittadini;
- e vidi così grandi come antichi, 91
 con quel della Sannella, quel dell' Arca,
 e Soldanieri, ed Ardinghi, e Bostichi.
- Sopra la porta, che al presente è carica 94
 di nuova fellonia di tanto peso
 che tosto fia jattura della barca,
- erano i Ravignani, ond' è disceso 97
 il conte Guido, e qualunque del nome
 dell' alto Bellincion ha poscia preso.
- Quel della Pressa sapeva già come 100
 regger si vuole, ed avea Galigaio
 dorata in casa sua già l' elsa e il pome.
- Grande era già la colonna del Vaio, 103
 Sacchetti, Giuochi, Fifanti e Barucci,
 e Galli, e quei che arrossan per lo staio.
- Lo ceppo, di che nacquero i Calfucci, 106
 era già grande, e già erano tratti
 alle curule Sizii ed Arrigucci.
- O quali io vidi quei che son disfatti 109
 per lor superbia! e le palle dell' oro
 fiorian Fiorenza in tutti suoi gran fatti.

Your affairs all have their death, even as have The courageous
 ye; but in such an one as long endureth, it
 escapeth note because your lives are short.

And as the rolling of the lunar heaven covereth
 and layeth bare the shores incessantly, so
 fortune doth to Florence;

wherefore it should appear no wondrous thing
 which I shall tell of the exalted Florentines
 whose fame lieth concealed by time.

I have seen the Ughi, seen the Catellini, Filippi, Florentine families
 Greci, Ormanni, and Alberichi, illustrious
 citizens, already in decline;

I have seen, even as great as ancient, with
 him of the Sannella, him of the Arca, and
 Soldanieri and Ardinghi and Bostichi.

Over the gate which is now laden with new
 felony of so great weight, that soon 'twill be
 the wrecking of the barque,

were the Ravignani, whence descendeth the
 County Guy, and whoso since hath taken
 lofty Bellincione's name.

The Della Pressa knew already how to govern,
 and Galigaio in his mansion already had the
 hilt and pummel gilt.

Great already were the Vair column, Sacchetti, Pigli
 Giuochi, Fifanti, and Barucci; and Galli,
 and they who blush red for the bushel.

The stock whence the Calfucci sprang was Donati
 great already, and already drawn to curule
 office were Sizii and Arrigucci.

Oh, how great have I seen those now undone by Uberti and Lamberti
 their pride! And the balls of gold adorned
 Florence in all her mighty feats.



- Marte Così facean li padri di coloro 112
che, sempre che la vostra chiesa vaca,
sì fanno grassi stando a consistoro.
- L' oltracotata schiatta, che s' indraca 115
retro a chi fugge, ed a chi mostra il dente
o ver la borsa com' agnel si placa,
già venia su, ma di picciola gente, 118
sì che non piacque ad Ubertin Donato
che poi il suocero il fe' lor parente.
- Già era il Caponsacco nel mercato 121
disceso giù da Fiesole, e già era
buon cittadino Giuda ed Infangato.
- Io dirò cosa incredibile e vera ; 124
nel picciol cerchio s' entrava per porta,
che si nomava da quei della Pera.
- Ciascun che della bella insegna porta 127
del gran barone, il cui nome e il cui pregio
la festa di Tommaso riconforta,
da esso ebbe milizia e privilegio ; 130
avvenga che col popol si raduni
oggi colui che la fascia col fregio.
- Già eran Gualterotti ed Importuni ; 133
ed ancor saria Borgo più quieto,
se di nuovi vicin fosser digiuni.
- La casa di che nacque il vostro fletto, 136
per lo giusto disdegno che v' ha morti
e posto fine al vostro viver lieto,
era onorata ed essa e suoi consorti. 139
O Buondelmonte, quanto mal fuggisti
le nozze sue per gli altrui comforti!
- Molti sarebbon lieti, che son tristi, 142
se Dio t' avesse concesso ad Ema
la prima volta che a città venisti.

So did their fathers who, whene'er your church
is vacant, stand guzzling in consistory. The courageous

The outrageous tribe that playeth dragon after Adimari
whoso fleeth, and to whoso showeth tooth—
or purse—is quiet as a lamb,

was coming up already, but from humble folk, so
that it pleased not Ubertin Donato when his
father-in-law made him their relative.

Already Caponsacco had come down from
Fiesole into the market-place; and good
citizens already were Giuda and Infangato.

I will tell a thing incredible but true: the little The Pera gate
circuit was entered by a gate named after them
of Pera.

Each one who beareth aught of the fair arms of Count Hugo
the great baron whose name and worth the
festival of Thomas keepeth living,

from him derived knighthood and privilege; Della Bella
though he who fringeth it around hath joined
him now unto the people.

Already there were Gualterotti and Importuni;
and still were Borgo a more quiet spot, if
from new neighbours they were still afasting.

The house from which your wailing sprang, Amidei
because of the just anger which hath slain you
and placed a term upon your joyous life,

was honoured, it and its associates. Oh
Buondelmonte, how ill didst thou flee its
nuptials at the prompting of another!

Joyous had many been who now are sad, had
God committed thee unto the Ema the first
time that thou camest to the city.

- Marte Ma conveniasi a quella pietra scema 145
 che guarda il ponte, che Fiorenza fesse
 vittima nella sua pace postrema.
- Con queste genti, e con altre con esse, 148
 vid' io Fiorenza in sì fatto riposo,
 che non avea cagion onde piangesse ;
- con queste genti vid' io glorioso 151
 e giusto il popol suo, tanto che il giglio
 non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,
 nè per division fatto vermiglio." 154

1-9. Dante deals with the subject of nobility in the *De Monarchia*, ii. 3: especially lines 12-20; and in *Conv.* iv. *passim*; but especially 14: 111-130.

10-12. The legend ran that when Cæsar united in himself all the high offices of state, he was addressed as a plurality of individuals, "ye"; but as a matter of fact in Dante's time the Romans adhered to the old-fashioned *thou*. "Nay, they would not address either Pope or Emperor save as *thou*."—Benvenuto.

13-15. "At these words which the queen spake to him [Lancelot] it came to pass that the lady of Malehaut coughed, of a set purpose, and uplifted her head which she had bowed down." Romance of Lancelot. See Toynbee under *Galeotto*.

25. Florence, the patron saint of which was St. John Baptist.

33. Does not imply that Cacciaguida spoke throughout in Latin as he had begun (xv. 28-30), but that he spoke in the ancient Florentine dialect of his day. Dante was well aware of the rapidity with which spoken dialects, not yet fixed by a standard literature, vary. See *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 9: 60-77.

34-39. Some MSS. and editions read *three* for *thirty*; and the question is also raised whether the period of Mars is to be calculated at the rough approximation of two years (compare *Conv.* ii. 15: 145, where the half revolution is given at "about a year"), or at the nearer approximation of 687 days, which was known in Dante's age. Two of the four combinations which might thus arise are excluded by the date of Conrad's

But to that mutilated stone which guardeth the
 bridge 'twas meet that Florence should give a
 victim in her last time of peace.

The cour-
ageous

With these folk, and with others with them, did
 I see Florence in such full repose, she had not
 cause for wailing ;

Statue of
Mars

with these folk I saw her people so glorious and
 so just, ne'er was the lily on the shaft reversed,
 nor yet by faction dyed vermilion."

crusade, 1147. (Compare xv. 139). Two years multiplied by 553 would give A.D. 1106 as the year of Cacciaguida's birth, and 687 days multiplied by 580 would give the year 1091. The former date would make Cacciaguida forty-one when he went on crusade, which seems more appropriate than fifty-six ; but the reading that gives the latter has the better authority.

37. *His own lion.* Apparently the kinship between Leo and Mars is to be found in the attribute of courage, not in any specific astrological belief of the time.

40-42. The annual race was run along the *Corso*, and the Sesto of St. Peter was the last that the racers entered. Just as you come to it you pass the house of the Elisei on your right. (Compare xv. 136, *note*). It is a place of ancient families. On the Quarters and Sesti of Ancient Florence, see Villani, iii. 2.

43-45, The reader may make what he can of this ambiguous utterance. The commentators throw no fresh light on it.

47. The baptistery lay at the north of the ancient Florence, and the statue of Mars (at the head of the Ponte Vecchio on the north side) was practically its southern boundary. On this statue of Mars compare *Inf.* xiii. 143-150. Further, see Villani, i. 42 : 60 ; iii. 1 ; v. 38. The associations with this torso of Mars are so vivid and pervading that every student of Dante should make himself thoroughly acquainted with them. See further lines 145-7, *note*.

52. *Neighbours*, not fellow-citizens.

56. Baldo d'Aguglione and Fazio de' Mori Ubaldini da Signa, both of them lawyers, and both of them deserters from the White to the Black faction in 1302. Baldo was a prior in 1298 and in 1311, in which last year he drew up the decree recalling many of the exiles, but expressly excluding Dante. (Gardner, i. 6, "Letters and Fresh Sentence.") In 1299 he had been convicted of cutting an inconvenient entry out of the public records of the courts of justice. Compare *Purg.* xii. 105. Fazio held several high offices from 1310 onwards. He was a bitter opponent of the Whites and also of Henry VII.

58-63. Simifonti was a fortress in Valdelsa, captured in 1202. See Villani, v. 30. The specific allusion is obscure. Does it refer to a descendant of the traitor mentioned by Villani? or to some event more closely connected with papal intrigues and aggressions? Lines 58-60, a clear reference to the Roman priesthood, point to the latter interpretation. (Compare *Purg.* xvi. 103-120.)

64. *Montemurlo*, between Prato and Pistoja, was sold by the Conti Guidi to the Florentines in 1254, as they themselves felt unequal to the task of defending it against the Pistoians. Its acquisition, therefore, marks a step in the aggressive expansion of Florence.

65. *Acone* was probably in the Val di Sieve. Well if the Cerchi (leaders of the Whites) had stayed there! Compare lines 94-96.

66. This is the climax. The implication is that in that case all the intestine conflicts of Florence would have been averted. Compare lines 133-147, *note*.

73. *Luni* or *Luna*, "now destroyed," Villani, i. 50. It was on the Macra, the northern boundary of Tuscany, and was celebrated in legendary lore.

Urbisaglia, a decayed city of the March of Ancona.

75. *Chiusi*, the ancient Clusium, was in the pestilent Val di Chiana (compare xiii. 23, *note*). Hence probably its decline. Like Sinigalia (on the sea shore, north of Ancona) it has escaped the complete desolation which Dante anticipated for it.

88-135. Information concerning many of these families will be found up and down the pages of Villani, especially iv. 10-13; and the sites of their houses, as

identified by Carbone, are given (with the exception of the Chiarmontesi, the Gangalandi, the Uccellini and the Gherardeschi) in the accompanying map, which also follows Carbone. The alternative site of the house of the Alighieri is taken from Witte.

94-99. The gate of St. Peter, the abode in Dante's time of the Cerchi. Compare line 65. (Gardner, i. 4, "Blacks and Whites"). Further, compare xv. 112, *note*.

102. Insignia of knighthood.

103. The Pigli whose arms are barred with vair (=ermine).

105. The Chiarmontesi, a Guelf family who dwelt in the quarter of St. Peter, but the site of whose houses has not been further identified. One of the family, in Dante's time, had falsified the measure by which in his public capacity he issued salt to the Florentines. Compare *Purg.* xii. 105.

106, 107. The Donati, of whom the Calfucci were a branch.

109, 110. The Uberti, once the dominating family in Florence (see Villani, v. 9, and many other passages). Their characteristic pride survived in the great *Farinata*. (Compare *Inf.* x., especially 31-36). The *golden balls* were the device of the Lamberti, of whom was Mosca. *Inf.* xxviii. 106.

112-114. The Visdomini, who, with the Della Tosa, "were patrons and defenders of the bishopric." Villani, iv. 10. Hence Dante's taunt that they fed fat on the sequestered revenues when the See was vacant.

115-117. The Ademari, between whom and Dante there was an implacable hostility.

118-120. Ubertino Donati had married a daughter of Bellincion Berti, and, says Cacciaguیدا, objected to another of Bellincion's daughters being given in marriage to one of the Ademari. Compare Gardner, i. 3; last paragraph.

124-126. "Who would believe that the della Pera were an ancient family? But I say to thee that they are so ancient that a gate of the first circle of the city was called after them."—Ottimo Comento.

127-130. Hugh of Brandenburg, Imperial Vicar of Tuscany, died on St Thomas' Day, 1006, "and whilst the said Hugh was living, he made in Florence many

knights of the family of the Giandonati, of the Pulci, of the Nerli, of the Counts of Gangalandi, and of the family Della Bella, which all, for love of him, retained and bore his arms, barry, white and red, with divers charges." Villani, iv. 2; where the whole story of Hugh is given. To these families the Ciuffagni are added in iv. 13.

131, 132. Giano della Bella, the great democratic leader, the prime mover of the "Ordinances of Justice." Compare Gardner, i. 4; Villani, *Introduction* § 5, especially pages xxxix. sqq.; and book viii. § 1, 8, &c. The della Bella had a border of gold on their coat of arms.

133-135. The reference is to the Buondelmonti, whose houses will be seen to neighbour those of the Gualterotti and the Importuni.

136-138. The Amidei. See note on 145-147.

139. *Associates*, the Uccellini and Gherardini. In the democratic legislation against the Magnates (who systematically defied the civic law and recognised no authority save that of the Family Council), members of a family who had ceased to act with it were regarded as no longer belonging to it, and members of another family who had joined its Tower-club, that is to say, its association for the maintenance of a tower for military purposes, were regarded as its "consorts," or associates, forming one *consorteria* with it, and therefore legally identified with it.

145-7. Buondelmonte was betrothed to a maiden of the Amidei; but a lady of the Donati, introducing him to her beautiful daughter, persuaded him to break faith with his bride. Her friends and relatives held a council of war and debated whether to slay him or be content with some lesser chastisement. Then "Mosca de' Lamberti said the evil word: 'Thing done hath an end'; to wit, that he should be slain; and so it was done." He was slain at the foot of the statue of Mars. Villani v. 38.

153. By the triumphant foe.

154. The old standard of Florence bore white lilies on a red field. It was maintained by the Ghibellines. In 1251 the Guelfs adopted a red lily on a white field. (See Villani, vi. 43.)

PARADISO

AS Phaeton came to Clymene to have his doubts resolved, so, encouraged by Beatrice, did Dante turn to Cacciaguida to learn from him the meaning of all the dark hints as to his future lot which he had heard in the three realms (1-27). Cacciaguida, not in oracular ambiguities but in plain speech, tells how contingency is but relative to material and human limitations (though free will is an absolute reality), and therefore he already sees, as a harmonious part of the blessed whole, the future that as a fragment of Dante's experience shall be so bitter (28-45). Florence shall accuse him of that treachery of which herself is guilty, and shall do it at the instigation of the Pope. Slandered,

Marte Qual venne a Climenè, per accertarsi
di ciò ch' avea incontro a sè udito,
quei ch' ancor fa li padri ai figli scarsi ;
tale era io, e tale era sentito 4
e da Beatrice e dalla santa lampa,
che pria per me avea mutato sito.
Per che mia donna : "Manda fuor la vampa 7
del tuo disio, mi disse, sì ch' ell' esca
segnata bene della interna stampa ;
non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca 20
per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi
a dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca."
" O cara piota mia, che sì t' insusi 13
che, come veggion le terrene menti
non capere in triangolo due ottusi,
così vedi le cose contingenti 16
anzi che sieno in sè, mirando il punto
a cui tutti li tempi son presenti ;

CANTO XVII

exiled, and in penury, he must go his way, in evil company, till he isolates himself from all, and is justified in so doing by the event (46-69). His first refuge shall be in the court of the Scaliger who will anticipate all his requests by granting them, and with whom he shall find the now youthful hero who shall give proof of his worth before Henry VII.'s mission, and shall at last do deeds which even they who see them shall not credit (70-93). He further bids Dante not envy the wrong-doers, whose downfall he shall long outlive (94-99), and in answer to the timid suggestions of prudence urges him to reveal to the world the whole content of his vision (100-142).

As came to Clymene, to have assurance as to The cour-
ageous
that which he had heard uttered against
himself, he who still maketh fathers grudging
to their sons ;

such was I ; and such was I felt both by
Beatrice and by the sacred lamp which had
already, for my sake, changed its position.

Wherefore my Lady : " Let forth the heat of Beatrice
thy desire," she said, " that it may issue,
struck aright with the internal stamp ;

not that our knowledge may increase by thy
discourse, but that thou mayst learn to tell
thy thirst, that men may mingle for thee."

" Dear turf, wherein I root me, who art so high Dante
uplifted that even as earthly minds perceive
that two obtuse angles may not find room in
one triangle,

so thou dost see contingent things, or ere them-
selves exist, gazing upon the point whereto all
times are present ;

- Marte mentre ch' io era a Virgilio congiunto 16
su per lo monte che l' anime cura,
e discendendo nel mondo defunto,
dette mi fur di mia vita futura 22
parole gravi ; avvenga ch' io mi senta
ben tetragono ai colpi di ventura :
per che la voglia mia saria contenta 25
d' intender qual fortuna mi s' appressa :
chè saetta previsa vien più lenta.”
Così diss' io a quella luce stessa, 28
che pria m' avea parlato, e come volle
Beatrice, fu la mia voglia confessa.
Nè per ambage, in che la gente folle 32
già s' inviscava pria che fosse anciso
l' agnel di Dio che le peccata tolle,
ma per chiare parole, e con preciso 34
latin, rispose quell' amor paterno,
chiuso e parvente del suo proprio riso :
“ La contingenza, che fuor del quaderno 37
della vostra materia non si stende,
tutta è dipinta nel cospetto eterno ;
necessità però quindi non prende, 40
se non come dal viso, in che si specchia,
nave che per corrente giù discende.
Da indi, sì come viene ad orecchia 43
dolce armonia da organo, mi viene
a vista il tempo che ti s' apparecchia.
Qual si partì Ippolito d' Atene 46
per la spietata e perfida noverca,
tal di Fiorenza partir ti conviene.
Questo si vuole, questo già si cerca, 49
e tosto verrà fatto a chi ciò pensa
là dove Cristo tutto dì si merca.

whilst I was companioned by Virgil along the
 mount which cureth souls, and down-going The coun-
 ageous
 through the world defunct,

heavy words were said to me anent my future
 life; albeit I feel me squarely set against the
 blows of fortune;

wherefore my will were well content to hear
 what the disaster drawing nigh to me; for the
 arrow seen before cometh less rudely."

So spake I unto that same light which had
 before addressed me, and, as Beatrice willed,
 was my wish confessed.

In no dark sayings, such as limed the foolish
 folk of old, before the Lamb of God who
 taketh sins away, was slain,

but in clear words, and with precise discourse,
 answered that love paternal, hidden and re-
 vealed by his own smile:

"Contingency, which beyond the sheet of your Caccia-
 guida
 material stretcheth not, is all limned in the
 eternal aspect;

albeit it deriveth not necessity from this, no more
 than doth the ship that droppeth down the stream
 from the sight wherein she doth reflect herself.

Thence, as cometh to the ear sweet harmony
 from an organ, cometh to my sight the time
 that is in store for thee.

As Hippolytus was severed from Athens by machin-
 ation of his cruel and perfidious stepmother, so
 must thou needs sever thee from Florence.

So it is willed, so already plotted, and so shall Exile
 be accomplished soon, by him who pondereth
 upon it in the place where Christ, day in day
 out, is put to sale.

- Marte** La colpa seguirà la parte offensa 53
in grido, come suol ; ma la vendetta
fia testimonio al ver che la dispensa.
- Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta 55
più caramente, e questo è quello strale
che l' arco dello esilio pria saetta.
- Tu proverai sì come sa di sale 58
lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale.
- E quel che più ti graverà le spalle 61
sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia,
con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle,
che tutta ingrata, tutta matta ed empia 64
si farà contro a te ; ma poco appresso
ella, non tu, n' avrà rossa la tempia.
- Di sua bestialitate il suo processo 67
farà la prova, sì che a te fia bello
l' averti fatta parte per te stesso.
- Lo primo tuo rifugio e il primo ostello 70
sarà la cortesia del gran Lombardo,
che in su la scala porta il santo uccello,
chè in te avrà sì benigno riguardo 73
che del fare e del chieder, tra voi due,
fia primo quel che tra gli altri è più tardo.
- Con lui vedrai colui che impresso fue 76
nascendo sì da questa stella forte,
che notabili fien l' opere sue.
- Non se ne son le genti ancora accorte, 79
per la novella età ; chè pur nove anni
son queste rote intorno di lui torte.
- Ma pria che il Guasco l' alto Enrico inganni, 82
parran faville della sua virtute
in non curar d' argento, nè d' affanni.

The blame shall cleave unto the injured side in fame, as is the wont ; but vengeance shall bear witness to the truth which doth dispense it. The courageous

Thou shalt abandon everything beloved most dearly ; this is the arrow which the bow of exile shall first shoot.

Thou shalt make trial of how salt doth taste another's bread, and how hard the path to descend and mount upon another's stair.

And that which most shall weigh thy shoulders down, shall be the vicious and ill company with which thou shalt fall down into this vale, for all ungrateful, all mad and impious shall they become against thee ; but, soon after, their temples and not thine shall redden for it.

Of their brutishness their progress shall make proof, so that it shall be for thy fair fame to have made a party for thyself.

Thy first refuge and first hostelry shall be the courtesy of the great Lombard, who on the ladder beareth the sacred bird, Bartolomeo della Scala

for he shall cast so benign regard on thee that of doing and demanding, that shall be first betwixt you two, which betwixt others most doth lag.

With him shalt thou see the one who so at his birth was stamped by this strong star, that notable shall be his deeds. Can Grande

Not yet have folk taken due note of him, because of his young age, for only nine years have these wheels rolled round him.

But ere the Gascon have deceived the lofty Henry, sparkles of his virtue shall appear in carelessness of silver and of toils. Clement and Henry

- Marte Le sue magnificenze conosciute 85
 saranno ancora, sì che i suoi nimici
 non ne potran tener le lingue mute.
- A lui t' aspetta ed ai suoi benefici ; 88
 per lui fia trasmutata molta gente,
 cambiando condizion, ricchi e mendici ;
- e porteraine scritto nella mente 91
 di lui, ma nol dirai " : e disse cose
 incredibili a quei che fien presente.
- Poi giunse : " Figlio, queste son le chiose 94
 di quel che ti fu detto ; ecco le insidie
 che retro a pochi giri son nascose.
- Non vo' però ch' a' tuoi vicini invidie, 97
 poscia che s' infutura la tua vita
 vie più là che il punir di lor perfidie."
- Poi che tacendo si mostrò spedita 100
 l' anima santa di metter la trama
 in quella tela ch' io le porsi ordita,
- io cominciai, come colui che brama, 103
 dubitando, consiglio da persona
 che vede e vuol dirittamente, ed ama :
- " Ben veggio, padre mio, sì come sprona 106
 lo tempo verso me, per colpo darmi
 tal ch' è più grave a chi più s' abbandona ;
- per che di provedenza è buon ch' io m' armi 109
 sì che, se loco m' è tolto più caro,
 io non perdessi gli altri per miei carmi.
- Giù per lo mondo senza fine amaro, 112
 e per lo monte del cui bel cacume
 gli occhi della mia donna mi levarò,
- e poscia per lo ciel di lume in lume 115
 ho io appreso quel che, s' io il ridico,
 a molti fia sapor di forte agrume ;

His deeds munificent shall yet be known so that
 concerning them his very foes shall not be able
 to keep silent tongues. The cour-
ageous

Look to him and to his benefits ; by him shall
 many folk be changed, altering state, the
 wealthy and the beggars ;

and thou shalt bear it written in thy mind of
 him, but shalt not tell it ” ;—and he told me
 things past the belief even of who shall see them.

Then he added : “ Son, these are the notes on
 what hath been said to thee ; behold the snares
 that behind but few circlings are hidden.

Yet would I not have thee envious of thy neighbours,
 since thy life shall be prolonged far beyond
 falling of the penalty upon their perfidies.”

When by his silence the sacred soul showed he
 had finished setting of the woof across the
 warp I had held out in readiness to him,

I began, as he who longeth in doubt for counsel
 from one who seeth and willeth straight, and
 loveth :

“ Well do I see, my father, how time cometh
 spurring toward me to give me such a buffet as
 is heaviest to whoso most abandoneth himself ; Dante
demandeth
counsel

wherefore with foresight it were well to arm me,
 that if the dearest place be reft from me, I
 lose not all the rest by reason of my songs.

Down in the world endlessly bitter, and along
 the mount from whose fair summit my Lady’s
 eyes uplifted me,

and after, through the heaven from light to light,
 I have learnt that which if I tell again, will
 have strong-bitter flavour unto many ;

- Marte** e s' io al vero son timido amico, 118
 temo di perder vita tra coloro
 che questo tempo chiameranno antico.”
- La** luce in che rideva il mio tesoro, 121
 ch' io trovai lì, si fe' prima corrusca,
 quale a raggio di sole specchio d' oro ;
- indi** rispose : “ Coscienza fusca 124
 o della propria o dell' altrui vergogna
 pur sentirà la tua parola brusca.
- Ma** nondimen, rimossa ogni menzogna, 127
 tutta tua vision fa manifesta,
 e lascia pur grattar, dov' è la rogna ;
- chè**, se la voce tua sarà molesta 130
 nel primo gusto, vital nutrimento
 lascerà poi quando sarà digesta.
- Questo** tuo grido farà come il vento, 133
 che le più alte cime più percote ;
 e ciò non fia d' onor poco argomento.
- Però** ti son mostrate in queste rote, 136
 nel monte e nella valle dolorosa
 pur l' anime che son di fama note ;
- chè** l' animo di quel ch' ode non posa, 139
 nè ferma fede per esemplo ch' haia
 la sua radice incognita e nascosa,
 nè per altro argomento che non paia.” 142

1-3. Phaeton. The fatal consequences of his father giving him leave to drive the chariot of the Sun still act as a warning to fathers. What he “had heard uttered against himself” was that he was not really Apollo's son.

13-18. Compare vi. 19-21, ii. 43-45 ; also xxix. 12.

22-24. Compare *Inf.* x. 79-81 : 121-123 : xv. 61-78, 88-99 : xxiv. 142-151 : and *Purg.* xi. 140, 141 : and more vaguely *Purg.* viii. 133-139 : xxiv. 43-48.

40-42. See x. 124-129, *note*.

43. “Thence” = from the “eternal aspect” of line 39.

47. Phædra accused Hippolytus of the sin of which she herself was really guilty. So Florence.

and if to truth I am a shrinking friend, I fear to
 lose life amongst those who shall call this time
 ancient.” The cour-
ageous

The light wherein was smiling my treasure which
 I there had found, first coruscated as at the
 sun's rays doth a golden mirror ;

then answered : “Conscience darkened, or by
 its own or by another's shame, will in truth
 feel thy utterance grating. Caccia-
guida
answereth

But none the less, every lie set aside, make thy
 entire vision manifest, and let them scratch
 wherever is the scab ;

for if thy voice be grievous at first taste, yet
 vital nutriment shall it leave thereafter when
 digested.

This cry of thine shall do as doth the wind, which
 smiteth most upon the loftiest summits ; and
 this shall be no little argument of honour.

Therefore have been displayed to thee, in these
 wheels, upon the mount, and in the dolorous
 vale, only souls known to fame ;

for the soul of him who heareth resteth not nor
 fixeth faith by an example which hath its root
 unknown and hidden, nor other unobtrusive
 argument.”

49-51. Gardner, i. 4, “The Jubilee,” &c.

65, 66. Apparently implying that Dante had broken
 with the Whites before the “affair of Lastra.” Gardner,
 i. 5, “Benedict xi.”; and Villani, viii. 72.

70-72. Bartolomeo della Scala, Lord of Verona,
 brother of Can Grande. Gardner, i. 5; “Verona,” &c.
 His arms were an Eagle on a ladder (*scala*).

76-81. Can Grande. Compare *Inf.* i. 100-111.

82-84. Clement V. encouraged Henry VII.'s
 expedition to Italy, but he was not loyal to
 him. See xxx. 142-144, and *note*. Also Gardner,
 i. 6.

PARADISO

DANTE, pondering Cacciaguida's revelation, is roused from his reverie by the consoling words and by the beauty of Beatrice who directs him once again to the spirit of his ancestor (1-21); who names to him some of the warrior saints that shoot, as he speaks, along the cross; and who then himself joins in their hymn (22-51). Dante turns again to Beatrice and sees, by her yet greater beauty, that they have risen into a higher heaven. Then as he looks again upon the star he sees that the white glowing Jupiter has replaced the ruddy Mars (52-69). The spirits here form themselves into successive letters and spell out the opening words of the book of *Wisdom* "Love righteousness ye that be judges of the earth" (70-93).

Marte Già si godeva solo del suo verbo
 quello specchio beato, ed io gustava
 lo mio, temprando col dolce l' acerbo ;
 e quella donna, ch' a Dio mi menava, 4
 disse : " Muta pensier, pensa ch' io sono
 presso a colui ch' ogni torto disgrava."
 Io mi rivolsi all' amoroso suono 7
 del mio conforto, e quale io allor vidi
 negli occhi santi amor, qui l' abbandono ;
 non perch' io pur del mio parlar diffidi, 10
 ma per la mente che non può reddire
 sopra sè tanto, s' altri non la guidi.
 Tanto poss' io di quel punto ridire 13
 che, rimirando lei, lo mio affetto
 libero fu da ogni altro disire,
 fin che il piacere eterno, che diretto 16
 raggiava in Beatrice, dal bel viso
 mi contentava col secondo aspetto.

CANTO XVIII

Then other spirits gather upon the crest of the last letter, twine round its limbs and insensibly form it into an eagle, the symbol of Roman law and justice (94-114). From this star, then, proceeds our justice. Oh that the divine mind whence it draws its power would once more, in wrath, cleanse the mercenary temple which pollutes its rays ! Oh that the chivalry of heaven would pray for the misled world ! As for the Pope who makes a traffic of his awful power to grant or withhold Communion, let him think of Peter and Paul ! But he will plead that John Baptist, whose image is stamped upon the golden florins, has absorbed all his thoughts (115-136).

Already was that blessed mirror rejoicing only The con-
ageous
in his own discourse, and I was tasting mine,
tempering with the sweet the bitter ;

and that Lady, who was leading me to God, said :
“ Change thy thought ; think that I am nigh
to him who every wrong unloadeth.”

I turned me to the lovesome sound of my com- Dante and
Beatrice
fort, and what love I then beheld within the
sacred eyes, I here attempt not ;

not because merely I distrust my speech, but for
my memory which may not re-ascend so far
above itself unless another guide it.

So much anent this point may I retell, that as I
gazed upon her my affection was freed from
every other longing

whilst the eternal joy which rayed direct on
Beatrice was satisfying me with its derived
aspect from the fair face.

- Marte** Vincendo me col lume d' un sorriso, 19
 ella mi disse: " Volgiti ed ascolta,
 chè non pur nei miei occhi è Paradiso."
- Come si vede qui alcuna volta 20
 l' affetto nella vista, s' ello è tanto
 che da lui sia tutta l' anima tolta,
 così nel fiammeggiar del fulgor santo, 21
 a ch' io mi volsi, conobbi la voglia
 in lui di ragionarmi ancora alquanto.
- Ei cominciò: " In questa quinta soglia 22
 dell' arbore, che vive della cima
 e frutta sempre e mai non perde foglia,
 spiriti son beati, che giù, prima 23
 che venissero al ciel, fur di gran voce,
 sì ch' ogni Musa ne sarebbe opima.
- Però mira nei corni della croce: 24
 quello ch'io numerò, lì farà l' atto
 che fa in nube il suo foco veloce."
- Io vidi per la croce un lume tratto 25
 dal nomar Josuè, com' ei si feo,
 nè mi fu noto il dir prima che il fatto.
- Ed al nome dell' alto Maccabeo 26
 vidi moversi un altro roteando,
 e letizia era ferza del paleo.
- Così per Carlo Magno e per Orlando 27
 due ne seguì lo mio attento sguardo,
 com' occhio segue suo falcon volando.
- Poscia trasse Guglielmo, e Rinoardo, 28
 e il duca Gottifredi la mia vista
 per quella croce, e Roberto Guiscardo.
- Indi, tra l' altre luci mota e mista, 29
 mostrommi l' alma che m' avea parlato,
 qual era tra i cantor del cielo artista.

O'ercoming me with the light of a smile, she
 said to me: "Turn thee, and hearken, for
 not only in my eyes is Paradise." The cour-
ageous

As here sometimes we read the affection in the
 countenance, if it be so great that all the mind
 is taken up by it,

so in the flaming of the sacred glow to which
 I turned me, I recognised the will in him yet
 further somewhat to discourse with me.

He began: "In this fifth range of the tree Caccia-
guida
 which liveth from the summit, and ever bear-
 eth fruit, and never sheddeth leaf,

are spirits blessed, who below, ere they came
 unto heaven, were of a great name, so that
 every Muse would be enriched by them.

Wherefore gaze upon the horns of the cross; he
 whom I shall name shall there do the act which
 in a cloud its swift flame doth."

I saw a light drawn along the cross at the Warriors
of God
 naming of Joshua, as it was done; nor was
 the word known to me ere the fact.

And at the name of the lofty Maccabee I saw
 another move, wheeling, and gladness was the
 lash unto the top.

Thus for Charlemagne and for Orlando two
 more were followed by my keen regard, as
 the eye followeth its falcon flying.

Then drew my sight along that cross William
 and Rinoardo and the duke Godfrey, and
 Robert Guiscard.

Thereon amongst the other lights, moving and Caccia-
guida
 mingling, the soul which had discoursed to
 me showed me his artist quality among
 heaven's singers.

- Salta** Io mi rivolsi dal mio destro lato 50
 per vedere in Beatrice il mio dovere,
 o per parole o per atto segnato ;
- e** vidi le sue luci tanto mere, 53
 tanto gioconde, che la sua sembianza
 vinceva gli altri e l' ultimo solere.
- E** come, per sentir più diletanza 56
 bene operando, l' uom di giorno in giorno
 s' accorge che la sua virtute avanza ;
- sì** m' accors' io che il mio girare intorno 61
 col cielo insieme avea cresciuto l' arco,
 veggendo quel miracol più adorno.
- Glove** **E** quale è il trasmutare in picciol varco 64
 di tempo in bianca donna, quando il volto
 suo si discarca di vergogna il carico ;
- tal** fu negli occhi miei, quando fui volto, 67
 per lo candor della temprata stella
 sesta, che dentro a sè m' avea ricolto.
- Io** vidi in quella giovia! facella 70
 lo sfavillar dell' amor che lì era,
 segnare agli occhi miei nostra favella.
- E** come augelli surti di riviera, 73
 quasi congratulando a lor pasture,
 fanno di sè or tonda or lunga schiera,
- sì** dentro ai lumi sante creature 76
 volitando cantavano, e faciensi
 or *di*, or *i*, or *elle* in sue figure.
- Prima** cantando a sua nota moviensi ; 79
 poi diventando l' un di questi segni,
 un poco s' arrestavano e taciensi.
- O** diva Pegasea, che gl' ingegni 82
 fai gloriosi, e rendili longevi,
 ed essi teco le cittadi e i regni,

I turned to my right side to see in Beatrice my **The just**
 duty, whether by speech or gesture indicated,
 and I saw her eyes so clear, so joyous, that her
 semblance surpassed all former usage and the
 last.

And as by feeling more delight in doing well,
 man from day to day perceiveth that his virtue
 gaineth ground ;

so did I perceive that my circling round together **Wider sweep**
 with the heaven had increased its arc, seeing
 this miracle yet more adorned.

And such change as cometh in short passage of
 time over a fair dame, when her countenance
 unburdeneth shame's burden,

was presented to my eyes, when I turned me,
 because of the white glow of the temperate
 sixth star which had received me into it.

I saw in that torch of Jove the sparkling of the **The writing in heaven**
 love which was therein signalling to my eyes
 our speech.

And as birds, risen from the bank, as though
 rejoicing together o'er their pasture, make
 themselves now a round, now a long, flock,

so within the lights the sacred creatures flying
 sang, and in their shapings made themselves
 now D, now I, now L.

First singing to their note they moved, then as
 they made themselves one of these signs, a
 little space would stay and hold their peace.

O goddess Pegasæan, who givest glory unto
 genius, and renderest it long life, as with
 thy aid doth it to cities and to realms,

- G**iove illustrami di te, sì ch' io rilevi 85
 le lor figure com' io l' ho concette :
 paia tua possa in questi versi brevi.
- M**ostrarsi dunque in cinque volte sette 88
 vocali e consonanti ; ed io notai
 le parti sì come mi parver dette.
- Diligite justitiam*, primai 91
 fur verbo e nome di tutto il dipinto ;
qui judicatis terram, fur sezzai.
- P**oscia nell' *emme* del vocabol quinto 94
 rimasero ordinate, sì che Giove
 pareva argento lì d' oro distinto.
- E** vidi scendere altre luci dove 97
 era il colmo dell' *emme*, e lì quetarsi,
 cantando, credo, il ben ch' a sè le move.
- P**oi, come nel percoter dei ciocchi arsi 100
 surgono innumerabili faville,
 onde gli stolti sogliono augurarsi,
- r**isurger parve quindi più di mille 103
 luci, e salir quali assai e quai poco,
 sì come il sol, che l' accende, sortille ;
- e** quietata ciascuna in suo loco, 106
 la testa e il collo d' un' aquila vidi
 rappresentare a quel distinto foco.
- Q**uei che dipinge lì non ha chi il guidi, 109
 ma esso guida, e da lui si rammenta
 quella virtù ch' è forma per li nidi ;
- I'** altra beatitudo, che contenta 112
 pareva in prima d' ingigliarsi all' *emme*,
 con poco moto seguìtò la impronta.
- O** dolce stella, quali e quante gemme 115
 mi dimostrarò che nostra giustiziaa
 effetto sia del ciel che tu ingemme !

make me bright with thyself, that I may throw **The just**
 into relief their figures as I have them in con-
 ception ; let thy might show in these brief verses.
 They displayed them then in five times seven vowels
 and consonants, and I took note of the members,
 even as they appeared in utterance to me.

Diligite justitiam, were the first verb and sub- **The writing**
 stantive of all the picturing ; *qui judicatis*
terram were the last.

Then ordered in the M of the fifth word they
 stayed, so that Jove seemed silver in that
 place, pricked out with gold ;

and I saw descending other lights where was the **Spirits**
 M's peak, and there still them ; singing, I take **gathering**
 it, the good that moveth them unto himself.

Then, as at the smiting of burnt brands there
 rise innumerable sparks, wherefrom the foolish
 ones use to draw augury,

meseemed there rose thence more than thousand
 lights, and mounted some much, some little, even
 as the sun which kindleth them, ordained them ;

and when each one had stilled it in its place, an **The eagle**
 eagle's head and neck I saw presented by
 that pricked-out fire.

He who there painteth hath not one to guide
 him, but he himself doth guide, and from
 him cometh to the mind that power which
 is form unto the nests ;

the other blessedness, which at first seemed
 content to twine the M with lilies, by a
 slight motion followed the imprint.

O sweet star, what quality and magnitude of
 gems made plain to me that our justice is the
 effect of the heaven thou dost engem !

- Giove** Per ch' io prego la mente, in che s' inizia 118
 tuo moto e tua virtute, che rimiri
 ond' esce il fummo che il tuo raggio vizia ;
 sì ch' un' altra fiata omai s' adiri 121
 del comperare e vender dentro al templo,
 che si murò di segni e di martiri.
 O milizia del ciel, cu' io contemplo, 124
 adora per color che sono in terra
 tutti sviati retro al malo esempio.
 Già si solea con le spade far guerra ; 127
 ma or si fa togliendo or qui or quivi
 lo pan che il pio padre a nessun serra :
 ma tu, che sol per cancellare scrivi, 130
 pensa che Pietro e Paolo, che moriro
 per la vigna che guasti, ancor son vivi.
 Ben puoi tu dire : " I' ho fermo il disiro 133
 sì a colui che volle viver solo
 e che per salti fu tratto al martiro,
 ch' io non conosco il Pescator nè Polo." 136

16-19. A disputed passage. We take it: 'I was, all satisfied, gazing upon the reflection of the light of God which shone from Beatrice's face. But *she* said, smiling,' &c.

46. William of Orange, like Rinoardo and Orlando, is a hero of romance, whereas Godfrey de Bouillon († 1100), conqueror of Jerusalem, and Robert Guiscard († 1085) of the house of Tancred (compare iii. 118, *note*), are entirely historical.

61, 62. Because they had ascended higher.

68. Jupiter is temperate or equable, between cold Saturn and hot Mars. Compare xxii. 145, 146.

82. Pegāsus, the winged horse, struck out the fountain Hippocrēnē from the earth with his hoof, which fountain was sacred to the Muses. Hence the Muse is 'goddess of the spring of Pegasus.'

91-93. *Wisdom of Solomon*, i. 1 (see *Argument*).

94-114. Note that M is the central letter of the Latin and Italian alphabet, which has no W. An M

Wherefore I pray the mind wherein thy motion and The just
 thy power hath beginning, to look upon the place
 whence issueth the smoke that vitiates thy ray ;
 so that once more the wrath be kindled against
 the buying and the selling in the temple which
 made its walls of miracles and martyrdoms.

O soldiery of heaven, whom I look upon, pray Appeal to
heavenly
justice
 for them who have all gone astray on earth,
 following the ill example.

Erst 'twas the wont to make war with swords ; now
 it is made by withholding, now here, now there,
 the bread the tender father bars from none ;
 but thou, who but to cancel, dost record, reflect
 that Peter and Paul who died for the vine-
 yard thou layest waste, are living yet.

Though thou indeed mayst urge : " I have so fixed
 my longing on him who lived a solitary, and
 by tripping steps was drawn to martyrdom,
 that I know not the fisherman nor Paul."

of the old fashion (M) may with a little ingenuity be
 transformed into the body and wings of a bird, the
 head gathering above the centre.

102. The method being to ask, " how many lambs,
 florins, or what not, shall I get ? " then strike a brand
 and count the sparks for answer.

109-111. Dante is describing the work of God, whom
 no one can instruct (*Isaiah* xl. 13, 14: *Job* xxxviii. 4
 199.), and from whom all knowledge comes into every
 mind. But why nests? Are the nests the heavens, nestling
 one within another? Or is the instinct of birds selected
 as the symbol of all intelligence save the divine?

112. The spirits that had formed neither the limbs of
 the M nor the head, but had twined round the former,
 now moulded themselves into the eagle's body and wings.

120-123. The papal court. Cf. *Purg.* xvi. 58-120;
 and *De Mon.*, bk. i.

130. The cancelling of excommunication being a
 source of revenue.

PARADISO

THE just Kings, who compose the eagle of Jupiter, speak as one person, just as many brands give out one warmth, so indicating that the work of all righteous governors is one and the same, the voice of all of them being the one voice of justice (1-21). In the heaven of justice, there rises in Dante's mind a passion of hope that he may find the solution of the problem, which so long has tortured him, as to the exclusion of the virtuous heathen from heaven, so contrary in seeming to God's justice. The divine eagle first responds with a burst of triumphant joy, then tells how God's wisdom is in excess of all that the whole creation expresses; and since Lucifer himself, the highest of created things, could not see all (and fell because he would not wait for the full measure of light God would have given him) it follows far more that lesser minds cannot so see but that God sees unutterably deeper. Wherefore our sight must needs be lost in the depths of divine justice, which God's eye alone can pierce. But our very idea of justice is from

Giove Parea dinanzi a me con l' ali aperte
la bella image, che, nel dolce *frui*
liete, facevan l' anime conserte.

Parea ciascuna rubinetto, in cui 4
raggio di sole ardesse sì acceso,
che nei miei occhi rifrangesse lui.

E quel che mi convien ritrar testeso, 7
non portò voce mai, nè scrisse inchiostro,
nè fu per fantasia giammai compreso;

ch' io vidi, ed anche udii parlar lo rostro, 10
e sonar nella voce ed *io e mio*,
quand' era nel concetto *noi e nostro*.

E cominciò: "Per esser giusto e pio 13
son io qui esaltato a quella gloria,
che non si lascia vincere a disio;

CANTO XIX

God, and this thought must quiet Dante's protest as to the exclusion of the virtuous heathen. Who is he that he should judge? There were matter enough for the human mind to boggle at, had we not the authority of Scripture for our guidance and did we not know that the Will of God is itself the perfect standard of goodness and of justice, not to be called to account by any other standard (22-90). As the little stork (the symbol of obedient docility) looks up, when fed, to the parent bird that wheels over the nest, so Dante gazes on the eagle; which sings a hymn as far above our understanding as God's judgments are (91-99); and then, while reasserting without qualification that belief in Christ is the sole means of access to heaven, yet declares that many heathen will be far nearer Christ on the judgment day than many who call upon his name; whereon follows a long denunciation, in detail, of contemporary Christian monarchs (100-148).

With outstretched wings appeared before me the **The just**
fair image which those enwoven souls, rejoicing
in their sweet fruition, made.

Each one appeared as a ruby whereon the sun's
ray should burn, enkindled so as to re-cast it
on mine eyes.

And that which I must now retrace, nor ever
voice conveyed, nor ink did write, nor ere by
fantasy was comprehended;

for I saw and eke I heard the beak discourse
and utter in its voice both *I* and *Mine*, when
in conception it was *We* and *Our*.

And it began: "In that I was just and duteous
am I here exalted to this glory which suffereth
not itself to be surpassed by longing;

Glove ed in terra lasciai la mia memoria 16
 sì fatta, che le genti lì malvage
 commendan lei, ma non seguon la storia.”
 Così un sol calor di molte brage 19
 sì fa sentir, come di molti amori
 usciva solo un suon di quella image ;
 ond’ io appresso : “ O perpetui fiori 22
 dell’ eterna letizia, che pur uno
 parer mi fate tutti i vostri odori,
 solvetemi, spirando, il gran digiuno 25
 che lungamente m’ ha tenuto in fame,
 non trovandogli in terra cibo alcuno.
 Ben so io che, se in cielo altro reame 28
 la divina giustizia fa suo specchio,
 che ’l vostro non l’ apprende con velame.
 Sapete come attento io m’ apparecchio 31
 ad ascoltar ; sapete quale è quello
 dubbio, che m’ è digiun cotanto vecchio.”
 Qual il falcon, ch’ uscendo del cappello 34
 move la testa e coll’ ali si plaude,
 voglia mostrando e facendosi bello,
 vid’ io farsi quel segno, che di laude 37
 della divina grazia era contesto,
 con canti quai si sa chi lassù gaude.
 Poi cominciò : “ Colui che volse il sesto 40
 all’ estremo del mondo, e dentro ad esso
 distinse tanto occulto e manifestò,
 non potè suo valor sì fare impresso 43
 in tutto l’ universo, che il suo verbo
 non rimanesse in infinito eccesso.
 E ciò fa certo che il primo superbo, 46
 che fu la somma d’ ogni creatura,
 per non aspettar lume, cadde acerbo :

and upon earth have I left a memory, so **The just**
 fashioned that there the evil folk commend it,
 though they follow not the tale."

So do we feel one glow from many coals as from
 those many loves there issued forth one only
 sound out of that image.

Whereon straightway I: "O perpetual flowers **Dante**
 of the eternal gladness, ye who make all your
 odours seem to me but one,

solve, as ye breathe, the great fast which long hath
 held me hungering, because on earth I found
 no food for it.

Well do I know that if the divine justice maketh
 any other realm of heaven its mirror, yours
 apprehendeth it without a veil.

Ye know how eager I prepare me to hearken;
 ye know what is that question which hath
 been to me a fast of so long date."

As the falcon issuing from the hood shaketh
 head and clappeth wings, showing his will and
 making himself beauteous,

such did I see that ensign which was woven of the
 praises of divine grace, with songs such as be
 known to whoso up there rejoiceth.

Then it began: "He who rolled the compass **Creation**
 round the limit of the universe, and within it
 marked out so much both hidden and revealed,

could not so stamp his worth on all the universe
 but that his word remained in infinite excess.

And this is certified by that first proud being,
 who was the summit of all creation, because
 he would not wait for light, falling unripe;

- Glove** e quinci appar ch' ogni minor natura 49
 è corto recettacolo a quel bene
 che non ha fine, e sè con sè misura.
- Dunque** nostra veduta, che conviene 52
 essere alcun dei raggi della mente
 di che tutte le cose son ripiene,
- non** può da sua natura esser possente 55
 tanto che suo principio non discerna
 molto di là, da quel che l' è parvente.
- Però** nella giustizia sempiterna 58
 la vista che riceve il vostro mondo,
 com' occhio per lo mar, dentro s' interna ;
- chè**, benchè dalla proda veggia il fondo, 61
 in pelago nol vede, e non di meno
 è lì, ma cela lui l' esser profondo.
- Lume** non è, se non vien dal sereno 64
 che non si turba mai, anzi è tenebra,
 od ombra della carne, o suo veleno.
- Assai** t' è mo aperta la latebra, 67
 che t' ascondeva la giustizia viva,
 di che facei question cotanto crebra ;
- chè** tu dicevi : ' Un uom nasce alla riva 70
 dell' Indo, e quivi non è chi ragioni
 di Cristo, nè chi legga, nè chi scriva ;
- e** tutti i suoi voleri ed atti buoni 73
 sono, quanto ragione umana vede,
 senza peccato in vita o in sermoni.
- More** non battezzato e senza fede ; 76
 ov' è questa giustizia che il condanna ?
 ov' è la colpa sua, s' egli non crede ? '
- Or** tu chi sei, che vuoi sedere a scranna 79
 per giudicar da lungi mille miglia
 con la veduta corta d' una spanna ?

and hence it is apparent that each lesser nature The just
 is a receptacle too scant for that good which
 hath not end, and itself measureth with itself.

Wherefore our sight, which needs must be one
 of the rays of that mind whereby all things
 are filled,

cannot of its nature have so great power but that
 its principle should discern far beyond that
 which unto it appeareth.

Wherefore in the eternal justice such sight as Divine
justice
 your world doth receive, like the eye in the
 ocean, is absorbed ;

for, albeit it can see the bottom by the shore, in
 the open sea it seeth it not, and none the less
 'tis there, but the depth it hath concealeth it.

There is no light unless from that serene which
 never is disturbed, else is it darkness or shadow
 of the flesh or else its poison.

Enough is opened to thee now the labyrinth
 which hid from thee the living justice of
 which thou hast made question so incessantly ;

for thou didst say : 'A man is born upon the The
problem
 bank of Indus and there is none to tell of
 Christ, nor none to read, nor none to write ;

and all his volitions and his deeds are good so far
 as human reason seeth, sinless in life or in
 discourse.

He dieth unbaptised and without faith ; where is
 that justice which condemneth him ? where is
 his fault, in that he not believes ?'

Now who art thou who wouldst sit upon the seat
 to judge at a thousand miles away with the
 short sight that carries but a span ?

- Gloves** Certo a colui che meco s' assottiglia, 82
 se la scrittura sopra voi non fosse,
 da dubitar sarebbe a maraviglia.
- O terreni animali, o menti grosse! 85
 la prima volontà, ch' è per sè buona,
 da sè, che è sommo ben, mai non si mosse.
- Cotanto è giusto, quanto a lei consuona; 88
 nullo creato bene a sè la tira,
 ma essa, radiando, lui cagiona."
- Quale sopr' esso il nido si rigira 92
 poi che ha pasciuto la cicogna i figli,
 e come quei ch' è pasto la rimira;
- cotal si fece, e sì levai li cigli, 94
 la benedetta imagine, che l' ali
 movea sospinta da tanti consigli.
- Roteando cantava, e dicea: "Quali 97
 son le mie note a te, che non le intendi,
 tal è il giudizio eterno a voi mortali."
- Poi si quetarón quei lucenti incendi 100
 dello Spirito Santo ancor nel segno,
 che fe' i Romani al mondo reverendi,
- esso ricominciò: "A questo regno 103
 non salì mai chi non credette in Cristo,
 nè pria, nè poi ch' ei si chiavasse al legno.
- Ma, vedi, molti gridan 'Cristo, Cristo,' 106
 che saranno in giudizio assai men *prope*
 a lui, che tal che non conosce Cristo;
- e tai Cristiani dannerà l' Etiope, 109
 quando si partiranno i due collegi,
 l' uno in eterno ricco, e l' altro inope.
- Che potran dir li Persi ai vostri regi, 112
 come vedranno quel volume aperto,
 nel qual si scrivon tutti i suoi dispregi?

Truly to him who goeth subtly to work with The just
me, were not the Scripture over you, there
were marvellous ground for questioning.

O animals of earth, minds gross! the primal
Will, good in itself, never departed from its
own self which is the highest good.

All is just which doth harmonise with it; no The
created good draweth it to itself, but it by standard of
raying forth giveth rise to it." justice

As right above her nest the stork sweepeth when
she hath fed her brood, and as the one which
she hath fed looketh up to her;

so did (and so did I uplift my brow) the blessed
image, which plied its wings driven by so
many counsels.

Wheeling it sang, and said: "As are my notes The eagle
to thee who understandest them not, such is
the eternal judgment to you mortals."

When those glowing flames of the Holy Spirit
were stilled, yet in the ensign which gained
the Romans reverence from all the world,

it began again: "To this realm ne'er rose one
who believed not in Christ, neither before nor
after he was nailed unto the tree.

But see, many cry Christ, Christ, who at the
judgment shall be far less near to him than
such as know not Christ;

and such Christians the Ethiop shall condemn
when the two colleges shall dispart, the one
for ever rich, the other stripped.

What may the Persians say unto your kings when
they shall see that volume opened wherein
are their dispraises all recorded?

- Giove Lì si vedrà tra l' opere d' Alberto 113
 quella che tosto moverà la penna,
 per che il regno di Praga fia deserto.
- Lì si vedrà il duol che sopra Senna 118
 induce, falseggiando la moneta,
 quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna.
- Lì si vedrà la superbia ch' asseta, 121
 che fa lo Scotto e l' Inghilese folle,
 sì che non può soffrir dentro a sua meta.
- Vedrassi la lussuria e il viver molle 124
 di quel di Spagna, e di quel di Buemme,
 che mai valor non conobbe, nè volle.
- Vedrassi al Ciotto di Jerusalemme 127
 segnata con un *i* la sua bontate,
 quando il contrario segnerà un *emme*.
- Vedrassi l' avarizia e la viltate 130
 di quel che guarda l' isola del foco,
 dove Anchise finì la lunga etate ;
- ed a dare ad intender quanto è poco, 133
 la sua scrittura fien lettere mozze,
 che noteranno molto in parvo loco.
- E parranno a ciascun l' opere sozze 136
 del barba e del fratel, che tanto egregia
 nazione e due corone han fatte bozze.
- E quel di Portogallo e di Norvegia 139
 lì si conosceranno, e quel di Rascia
 che mal ha visto il conio di Vinegia.
- O beata Ungheria, se non si lascia 142
 più malmenare ! E beata Navarra,
 se s' armasse del monte che la lascia !
- E creder dee ciascun che già, per arra 145
 di questo, Nicosia e Famagosta
 per la lor bestia si lamenti e garra,
 che dal fianco dell' altre non si scosta.” 148

There shall be seen amidst the deeds of Albert ~~The just~~
 that one which soon shall move its wing to
 make the realm of Prague a desert.

There shall be seen the woe which he is bring-
 ing on the Seine by making false the coinage,
 who by the wild boar's stroke shall die.

There shall be seen the pride which maketh athirst
 and doth the Scot and Englishman so madden
 they may not abide within their proper bound.

The lechery shall be seen and life effeminate of
 him of Spain, and him of Bohemia, who knew
 not ever worthiness, nor willed it.

For the cripple of Jerusalem shall be seen
 marked with an I, his excellence, whereas an
 M shall mark the countercharge.

The avarice and baseness shall be seen of him Kings of
Christen
dom
 who hath in ward the Isle of Fire where
 Anchises ended his long life ;

and to give to understand how great his paltriness,
 his record shall be kept in stunted letters which
 shall note much in little space.

And plain to all shall be revealed the foul deeds
 of his uncle and his brother which have made
 so choice a family, and two crowns, cuckold.

And he of Portugal and he of Norway there
 shall be known, and he of Rascia, who in ill
 hour saw the coin of Venice.

O happy Hungary, if she suffereth herself to be
 mauled no more ! And happy Navarre, were she
 to arm herself with the mount that fringeth her !

And all should hold that 'tis in pledge of this
 that Nicosia and Famagosta already wail and
 shriek by reason of their beast, who doth not
 part him from beside the others."

25-33. The same problem (see lines 70 *sqq.*) is referred to in the *De Monarchia*, ii. 8: 23-45, as one which the human reason cannot solve unaided, but to the solution of which it can rise by the aid of faith. There is no indication in the *De Monarchia* of the mental anguish which throbs through the appeal in this present passage.

48. Both Lucifer and Adam and Eve sinned not by desiring knowledge that was to be permanently withheld, but by desiring it before the appointed time. "He therefore [the devil] desired something which he had not, and which he ought not to have desired at that time; just as Eve desired to be like the deities before God desired that she should."—Anselm.

52. *Our*. Compare xx. 134-138 & xxi. 91-93. Another reading is *your* (*vostra*), which seems more germane to the immediate object of the appeal. Compare lines 58-63. But *our* effects the transition from "the summit of all creation" to the mind of earthly man, and beautifully associates the spirits in heaven with those on earth in dependence upon God.

65, 66. *Darkness, shadow of ignorance, poison of vice.*

88, 89. The context and the comparison of *De Monarchia*, ii. 2, especially lines 50-61, sufficiently explain this passage. Conformity with the will of God is the ultimate test of justice.

112. *Persians*, representing all non-Christians, like the *Ethiopian* of line 109.

115-148. This indiscriminate condemnation of contemporary monarchs is far from being justified in all its details by history. Compare with this passage the parallel in *Purg.* vii. 91-136. The accompanying tables, which might be united into one connected whole, will serve to identify the monarchs referred to.

115-117. The translation personifies Albert's invasion of Bohemia in 1304, but the Italian may equally well be translated: "set the pen (*viz.* of the Recording Angel) in motion." On Albert, compare *Purg.* vi. 97-117.

119-120. Philip the Fair. Compare *Purg.* vii. 109-111: xx. 85-96, and numerous references to his relations with Clement in the *Comedy* and in the *Epistles*. He debased the coinage to one third of its value, in order to meet the expenses of his Flemish campaigns in 1302. This is one of several passages in which we

see the horror of tampering with the coinage entertained by Dante, the citizen of the greatest commercial city of Europe. As the symbol of greed the *Florin* was the "accursed flower" of ix. 130, but as the foundation of all commercial relations it was worthy of such reverence that he who tampered with it was to be ranked with him who falsified the very personality of human beings, the ultimate basis of human intercourse. See *Inf.* xxix. (Compare the story told in Villani, vi. 53.)

127-129. Compare ix. 1-6, *note*. One good quality to a thousand bad ones.

130-132. Anchises died at Drepănum in Sicily (the *Isle of fire*, because of Mt. Etna). On Frederick, compare *Purg.* iii. 116, and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 12: 35-42. There was a tradition in Boccaccio's time that Dante had originally intended to dedicate the *Purgatorio* to him, but modern scholars treat it with contempt. If Dante ever really entertained such a purpose, his changed estimate of Frederick was probably caused by the latter's slackness in espousing the imperial cause in opposition to his hereditary foe, Robert of Naples, the head of the Italian Guelfs.

134, 135. The space allotted to the record of so paltry a man being limited, contracted letters must be used if room is to be found for all his bad qualities and deeds.

137. James of the Balearic Isles and James of Aragon.

140, 141. Orosius of Rascia issued counterfeit Venetian coins. See map on p. 100.

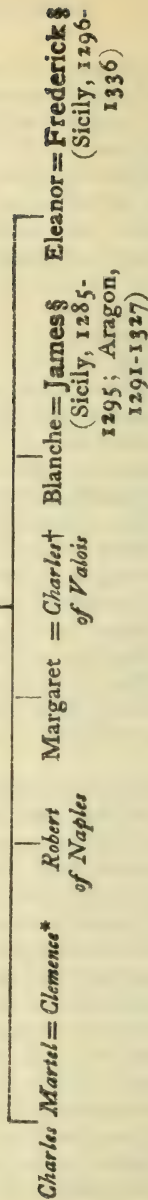
142. In 1300 Andrew was king of Hungary. He was succeeded by Caroberto (1310-1342), the son of Dante's friend Carlo Martello whom his uncle Robert had ousted from the Neapolitan succession. (Compare ix. i, *note*.) Hungary had suffered from the evils of a disputed succession and of terrible wars. Happy if she had now seen the end of them!

143-148. Navarre was the separate kingdom of Joanna, wife of Philip the Fair. Happy if she maintained the barrier of the Pyrenees between herself and her great neighbour! The fate of Cyprus under the French dynasty of Lusignan may warn her of her fate should she fall under France.

Thick letters indicate persons mentioned in *Paradise XIX*.
Italics indicate persons mentioned elsewhere by Dante.

TABLE I

Carlo II (Zoppo)
 (Naples, 1285-1309)

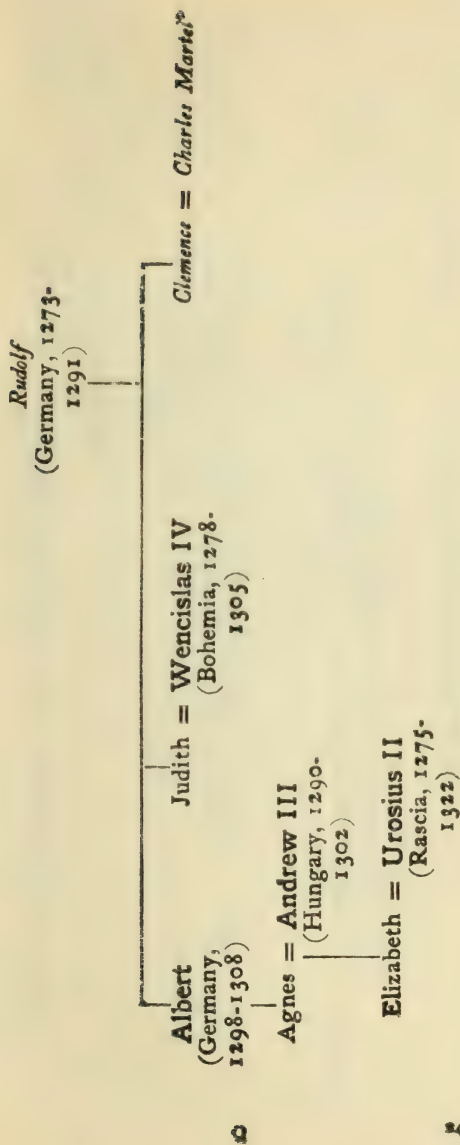


* See Table II.

† See Table III.

§ See Table IV

TABLE II



* See Table I.

TABLE III

Raymond Berengar
(Provence, 1209-1245)

Louis IX = *Margaret Eleanor* = *Henry III*
(1226-1270) (1216-1272)

Henry the Fat
(Navarre,
1270-1274)

Philip the Bold **Edward I**
(1270-1285) (1272-1307)

Margaret = **Alexander III**
(Scotland,
1249-1286)

Magnus VII
(Norway,
1263-1280)

Joanna = Philip the Fair
(Navarre, 1285-1314)
1274-1305

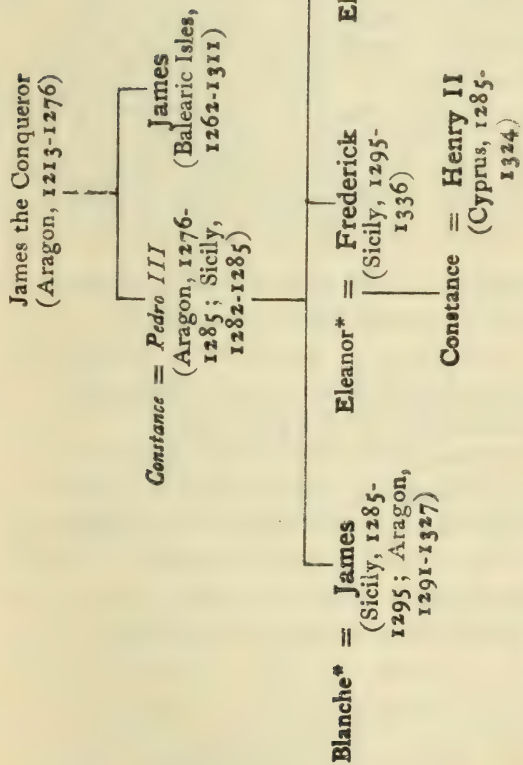
Charles of Valois = **Margaret***

Margaret = **Eric II**
(Norway,
1280-1299)

Hakon VI
(Norway,
1299-1319)

* See Table I.

TABLE IV



* See Table I.

PARADISO

AS when the one light of the sun disappears, the heaven is straightway rekindled by many stars, so when the one voice of the eagle ceased the many beings that composed it, shining yet more brightly, burst into an angelic chime of many notes, which was followed by a murmuring as of falling waters, gathering once more in the neck of the eagle into a single voice (1-30). The eagle declares that the six lights which form its pupil and eyebrow are the greatest of all, and goes on to enumerate them, using, in most cases, rich and pregnant circumlocution, but expressly naming Ripheus the Trojan, that there may be no room to misconceive a statement so incredible as that he (as well as Trajan, the heathen emperor, already indicated by a paraphrase not to be misunderstood) is in heaven (31-72). Then once more the eagle bursts into rapturous song, and when it pauses, Dante, though he knows that the spirits read his inmost thoughts as we on earth see colour through a sheet of glass, yet can

Glove Quando colui che tutto il mondo alluma
 dell' emisferio nostro sì discende,
 che il giorno d' ogni parte si consuma,
 lo ciel, che sol di lui prima s' accende, 4
 subitamente si rifà parvente
 per molte luci, in che una risplende.
 E quest' atto del ciel mi venne a mente, 7
 come il segno del mondo e dei suoi duci
 nel benedetto rostro fu tacente ;
 però che tutte quelle vive luci, 10
 vie più lucenti, cominciaron canti
 da mia memoria labili e caduci.
 O dolce amor, che di riso t' ammantì, 13
 quanto parevi ardente in quei flailli
 ch' avieno spirto sol di pensier santi !

CANTO XX

not restrain the utterance of his amazement at the presence of these two heathen (73-84); whereon the eagle declares that both of them died in the true faith, Ripheus in Christ to come and Trajan in Christ come; and so explains the former case as to suggest that revelations may have been vouchsafed to other righteous pagans (85-129). So little do men fathom the divine counsels! Nay, the redeemed souls, as they look on God, know not yet who shall be the saved; and in this very limitation of their knowledge they rejoice, for it is a point of conscious contact with the will of God (130-138). Thus, as the souls of Trajan and Ripheus glint responsive to the eagle's discourse, Dante receives sweet solace partly from the thought that he knows not, after all, how many of the supposed heathen are in truth saved, and partly from the spectacle of the souls in bliss rejoicing in the limitations of their knowledge no less than in its conquests (139-148).

When he who doth illumine all the world de- The just
scendeth so from our hemisphere that day on
every side is done away,

the heaven which before is kindled by him
only, now straightway maketh itself reappear
by many lights wherein the one regloweth.

And this act of heaven came to my mind when
the ensign of the world and of its leaders
within its blessed beak was silent;

because all those living lights, far brightlier shin-
ing, began songs which from my memory must
slip and fall.

O sweet love, smile-bemantled, how glowing
didst thou seem in those flute holes breathed
on only by sacred ponderings!

- Giove** Poscia che i cari e lucidi lapilli, 36
 ond' io vidi ingemmato il sesto lume,
 poser silenzio agli angelici squilli,
 udir mi parve un mormorar di fiume, 39
 che scende chiaro giù di pietra in pietra,
 mostrando l' ubertà del suo cacume.
- E** come suono al collo della cetra 22
 prende sua forma, e sì come al pertugio
 della sampogna vento che penetra,
 così, rimosso d' aspettare indugio, 25
 quel mormorar dell' aquila salissi
 su per lo collo, come fosse bugio.
- Fecesi** voce quivi, e quindi uscissi 28
 per lo suo becco in forma di parole,
 quali aspettava il core, ov' io le scrissi.
- "La** parte in me che vede, e pate il sole 31
 nell' aquile mortali, incominciommi,
 or fisamente riguardar si vuole,
 perchè dei fochi, ond' io figura fommi, 34
 quelli, onde l' occhio in testa mi scintilla,
 e' di tutti i lor gradi son li sommi.
- Colui** che luce in mezzo per pupilla, 37
 fu il cantor dello Spirito Santo,
 che l' arca traslatò di villa in villa :
 ora conosce il merto del suo canto, 40
 in quanto effetto fu del suo consiglio,
 per lo remunerar ch' è altrettanto.
- Dei** cinque, che mi fan cerchio per ciglio, 43
 colui, che più al becco mi s' accosta,
 la vedovella consolidò del figlio :
 ora conosce quanto caro costa 46
 non seguir Cristo, per l' esperienza
 di questa dolce vita e dell' opposta.

When the dear and shining stones, whereby I **The just**
 saw the sixth heaven gemmed, had imposed
 silence on the angelic chimes,

me seemed to hear the murmuring of a river
 which droppeth clear from rock to rock and
 showeth the abundance of its source.

And as the sound taketh its form in the lute-
 neck, or at the opening of the pipes the wind
 that entereth,

so, delay of expectation done away, that mur-
 muring of the eagle rose up through its neck
 as it were hollow :

there it became a voice and issued thence, out **The eagle**
 from its beak, in form of words, such as the
 heart awaited, whereon I wrote them.

“That part in me which seeth and which doth
 endure the sun in mortal eagles,” it began to
 me, “must now fixedly be gazed upon,

for of the fires wherefromout I make my figure,
 those with which the eye sparkleth in my
 head, of all their ranks are chief.

He who shineth midmost, as the pupil, was the **David**
 singer of the Holy Spirit who bore the ark
 from city unto city ;

now knoweth he the merit of his song, in so far
 as 'twas the effect of his own counsel, by the
 remuneration like unto it.

Of the five who make the eyebrow's arch, he **Trajan**
 who doth neighbour closest on the beak con-
 soled the widow for her son ;

now knoweth he how dear it costs Christ not
 to follow, by his experience of this sweet life
 and of the opposite.

- Giove** E quel che segue in la circonferenza, 49
 di che ragiono, per l' arco superno,
 morte indugiò per vera penitenza :
 ora conosce che il giudizio eterno 52
 non si trasmuta, perchè degno preco
 fa crastino laggiù dell' odierno.
- L'** altro che segue, con le leggi e meco, 55
 sotto buona intenzion che fe' mal frutto,
 per cedere al pastor si fece Greco :
 ora conosce come il mal, dedutto 58
 dal suo bene operar, non gli è nocivo,
 avvegna che sia il mondo indi distrutto.
- E** quel che vedi nell' arco declivo 61
 Guglielmo fu, cui quella terra plora
 che piange Carlo e Federico vivo :
 ora conosce come s' innamora 64
 lo ciel del giusto rege, ed al sembiante
 del suo fulgore il fa vedere ancora.
- Chi** crederebbe giù nel mondo errante, 67
 che Rifeo Troiano in questo tondo
 fosse la quinta delle luci sante ?
 ora conosce assai di quel che il mondo 70
 veder non può della divina grazia,
 benchè sua vista non discerna il fondo."
- Quale** allodetta che in aere si spazia 73
 prima cantando, e poi tace contenta
 dell' ultima dolcezza che la sazia,
 tal mi sembiò l' imago della impronta 76
 dell' eterno piacere, al cui disio
 ciascuna cosa, quale ell' è, diventa.
- Ed** avvegna ch' io fossi al dubbiar mio 79
 lì quasi vetro allo color che il veste,
 tempo aspettar tacendo non patio ;

And he who followeth on the circumference
 whereof I tell, upon the upper arch, death did
 delay by his true penitence ;

The just.
 Hezekiah

now knoweth he that the eternal judgment is
 not transmuted when a worthy prayer giveth
 unto to-morrow upon earth what was to-day's.

The next who followeth, with the laws and me, Constantine
 with good intention that bore evil fruit, to
 give place to the pastor, made himself a Greek ;
 now knoweth he that the ill deduced from his
 good deed hurteth not him though the world
 be destroyed thereby.

And him thou seest on the down-sloping arch William of Sicily
 was William, whom that land deplores which
 weepeth for that Charles and Frederick live ;
 now knoweth he how heaven is enamoured of the
 righteous king, and by the semblance of his
 glow he maketh it yet seen.

Who would believe, down in the erring world, Ripheus
 the Trojan Ripheus in this circle to be the
 fifth of the holy lights ?

now knoweth he right much of the divine grace
 that the world hath no power to see, albeit his
 sight discerneth not the bottom."

Like to the lark who soareth in the air, first
 singing and then silent, content with the last
 sweetness that doth sate her,

so seemed to me the image of the imprint of the
 eternal pleasure, by longing for whom each
 thing becometh what it is.

And albeit there I was to my questioning like
 glass unto the colour which it clothes, yet would
 it not endure to bide its time in silence ;

- Glove** ma della bocca : “ Che cose son queste ? ” 82
 mi pinse con la forza del suo peso ;
 per ch’ io di corruscar vidi gran feste.
- Poi appresso con l’occhio più acceso 85
 lo benedetto segno mi rispose,
 per non tenermi in ammirar sospeso :
- “ Io veggio che tu credi queste cose, 88
 perch’ io le dico, ma non vedi come ;
 sì che, se son credute, sono ascose.
- Fai come quei, che la cosa per nome 91
 apprende ben ; ma la sua quiditate
 veder non può, se altri non la prome.
- Regnum coelorum* violenza pate 94
 da caldo amore e da viva speranza,
 che vince la divina volontate ;
- non a guisa che l’ uomo all’ uom sopranza, 97
 ma vince lei, perchè vuole esser vinta,
 e vinta vince con sua beninanza.
- La prima vita del ciglio e la quinta 100
 ti fa maravigliar, perchè ne vedi
 la region degli angeli dipinta.
- Dei corpi suoi non uscir, come credi, 103
 Gentili, ma Cristiani, in ferma fede,
 quel dei passuri, e quel dei passi piedi.
- Chè l’ una dello inferno, u’ non si riede 106
 giammai a buon voler, tornò all’ ossa,
 e ciò di viva speme fu mercede ;
- di viva speme, che mise la possa 109
 nei preghi fatti a Dio per suscitarla,
 sì che potesse sua voglia esser mossa.
- L’ anima gloriosa, onde si parla, 112
 tornata nella carne, in che fu poco,
 credette in lui che poteva aiutarla :

but from my mouth : “ What things are these ? ” The just
Dante
 it thrust by force of its own weight, whereat
 I saw great glee of coruscation.

Then straightway, with its eye more kindled,
 the blessed ensign answered me, that it might
 not hold me in suspense of wonder :

“ I see that thou believest these things because Eagle
 I tell them thee, but the how thou seest not ;
 so that, although believed, yet are they hidden.

Thou art as he who doth apprehend the thing
 by name, but may not see its quidity unless
 another bring it forth to light.

The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence from
 warm love and living hope which conquereth
 the divine will ;

not in fashion wherein man subdueth man, but
 conquereth it because it willeth to be con-
 quered, and, conquered, with its own benignity
 doth conquer.

The first life of the eyebrow and the fifth set Trajan and
Ripheus
 thee a-marvelling, because thou seest the region
 of the angels painted with them.

From their bodies they issued not, as thou sup-
 posest, Gentiles, but Christians in established
 faith, in the feet that—to the one—should
 suffer, and—to the other—had already suffered.

For the one from hell,—where none returneth
 ever to right will,—came back unto its bones,
 and this was the reward of living hope ;

the living hope which put might into the prayers Gregory
 made unto God to raise him up, that his will
 might have power to be moved.

The glorious soul, whereof is the discourse, re-
 turning to the flesh where it abode short space,
 believed in him who had the power to aid it ;

- Glove e credendo s' accese in tanto foco 115
 di vero amor, ch' alla morte seconda
 fu degna di venire a questo gioco.
- L' altra, per grazia, che da sì profonda 118
 fontana stilla che mai creatura
 non pinse l' occhio infino alla prim' onda,
 tutto suo amor laggiù pose a drittura ; 121
 per che, di grazia in grazia, Dio gli aperse
 l' occhio alla nostra redenzion futura :
 onde credette in quella, e non sofferse 124
 da indi il puzzo più del paganesmo,
 e riprendiene le genti perverse.
- Quelle tre donne gli fur per battesimo, 127
 che tu vedesti dalla destra rota,
 dinanzi al battezzar più d' un millesmo.
- O predestinazion, quanto remota 130
 è la radice tua da quegli aspetti
 che la prima cagion non veggion *tota* !
- E voi, mortali, tenetevi stretti 133
 a giudicar, chè noi, che Dio vedemo,
 non conosciamo ancor tutti gli eletti ;
 ed enne dolce così fatto scemo, 136
 perchè il ben nostro in questo ben s' affina,
 che quel che vuol Iddio e noi volemo."
- Così da quella imagine divina, 139
 per farmi chiara la mia corta vista,
 data mi fu soave medicina.
- E come a buon cantor buon citarista 142
 fa seguitar lo guizzo della corda,
 in che più di piacer lo canto acquista ;
 sì, mentre che parlò, sì mi ricorda 145
 ch' io vidi le due luci benedette,
 pur come batter d' occhi si concorda,
 con le parole mover le fiammette. 148

and believing kindled into so great flame of very The just
 love, that at the second death it was worthy
 to come unto this mirth.

The other, by that grace which wellet from
 so deep a fountain that never creature thrust
 eye down to its first wave,

set all his love below on righteousness, wherefore
 from grace to grace God opened his eye to
 our redemption yet to come ;

whereat he believed therein, and thenceforth
 endured not the mire of paganism, and re-
 proved the folk perverse concerning it.

Those three dames stood as baptism for him,
 whom thou didst see at the right wheel, more
 than a thousand years before baptising.

O predestination, how far withdrawn is thy root Predesti-
ation
 from such vision as sees not the first cause
 entire !

And ye mortals, hold yourselves straitly back
 from judging ; for we who see God, know
 not as yet all the elect ;

and sweet to us is such defect because our good
 in this good is refined, that what God willeth
 we too will."

So by this divine image to clear my curtailed
 vision was given me sweet medicine.

And as on a good singer a good harpist maketh
 the quivering of the chord attend, wherein the
 song gaineth more pleasantness,

so whilst he spake I mind me that I saw the two
 blessed lights, just as the beating of the eyes
 concordeth, making their flames to quiver to
 the words.

6. It was the general belief that the light of all the stars was reflected from the Sun.

13-15. A much disputed passage. It is taken in the translation to mean, 'As the flute is played on by the breath of the musician, so these spirits were played upon by their own holy thoughts, wherein that same divine love which clad them with the smiling brightness of joy, breathed upon them.'

41. Contains by implication Dante's doctrine of inspiration. The human instrument of the Divine Spirit has a genuine part to play.

43-45. Compare *Purg.* x. 73-93.

51. 2 *Kings* xx. 1-11.

55-60. The donation of Constantine, called by Bryce "the most stupendous of all mediæval forgeries," set forth how Constantine, when cured of his leprosy by Pope Sylvester, resolved to transfer his capital to Constantinople ("made himself a Greek") in order to leave to the Pope and his successors the sovereignty over Italy. Dante, while accepting the supposed fact, regarded it as one of the most disastrous events of history. (Compare *Inf.* xix. 115-117: *Purg.* xxxii. 124-129.) He warmly maintained that the donation was invalid, since the Emperor could not alienate, nor the Pope receive, temporal power. (*De Monarchia*, iii. 10, &c. Compare Gardner, iii. 1, under "Book iii.>").

61-66. William the Good (1166-1189) was the last king of the house of Tancred who reigned over the "Two Sicilies." See iii. 118-120, ix. 1-6, *notes*; and Tables i. and iv. on pp. 240, 243. The kingdom of Naples, under Charles II., and the kingdom of Sicily, under Frederick, bewail him.

68. *Ripheus*. Virgil calls him "the one man amongst the Trojans most just and observant of the right." *Æneid*, ii. 426 sq.

76-78. The imprint of the eternal pleasure probably means *justice*. By longing for God everything becomes its true self.

81. *it* = "my questioning."

92. *Quidity* = the "what-ness" of a thing, as *quality* is the "what-like-ness" of it. 'You know the name of a thing, but know not what the thing is.'

103-105. Ripheus had faith in the crucified feet that were to be, Trajan in the crucified feet that had been.

106-108. Repentance or change of will, in hell, was so inconceivable, that even when the divine prerogative overrode the decree, it was thought of as acting not to change the will in hell, but to bring back the soul to the body, that the will might be changed on earth.

109-111. Thomas Aquinas repeatedly refers to the story of Gregory and Trajan. He says: "Damascenus [† before 754] . . . tells how Gregory, when pouring out prayer for Trajan, heard a voice borne to him from heaven: *I have heard thy voice and I grant pardon to Trajan*; to which fact, . . . the whole East and West is witness." In discussing prayer and predestination, he declares that prayer cannot alter the divine will, but may be the appointed instrument for its accomplishment; and declares that "though Trajan was in the place of the reprobate, yet he was not reprobate himself in the absolute sense, since he was predestined to be saved by Gregory's prayers." Gregory himself [Pope, 590-606] is emphatic on the futility of prayer for the damned. "The saints pray not for the unbelieving and impious defunct, because they shrink from the merit of their prayers, for those whom they already know to be damned to eternal punishment, being annulled before that countenance of the righteous Judge."

118-123. The principle implied in this passage opens the door through which Cato enters heaven. (Compare *Purg.* i. 31-75, and the obvious symbolism of 37-39.) There is a remarkable passage in which Aquinas says: "A man may prepare himself by what is contained in natural reason for receiving faith. Wherefore it is said that if anyone born in barbarous nations do what lieth in him, God will reveal to him that which is necessary for salvation, either by inspiration or by sending a teacher." Perhaps Dante's own mind dwelt increasingly on this conception. The tradition which told how Paul wept over Virgil's tomb at Naples may have been taken as specific evidence that Virgil was not one of the heathen thus saved.

127. Faith, Hope and Charity. See *Purg.* xxix. 121-129.

PARADISO

BEATRICE and Dante have risen to Saturn, now in the constellation of Leo, and there Beatrice smiles not (lest her beauty should shatter Dante's mortal senses as Jove's undisguised presence burned Semele to ashes) but bids him gaze upon that which shall be revealed to him (1-18). The joy it gives him to obey her behests is compensation even for the withdrawal of his eyes from her countenance, whereon they feasted; and he sees the golden Jacob's ladder stretch up from Saturn; while a throng of splendours descends, as though all heaven had been emptied, and splashes in light upon a certain step of the ladder (19-42). Dante addresses the light that arrests itself nearest to him, first with silent thought, then, when Beatrice gives him leave, with open speech; and asks why he more than others has approached him, and why the harmony of heaven is no longer heard (43-60). The spirit answers that Dante's senses are not yet sufficiently inured to bear the divine music in this higher sphere; and that he has approached to welcome him not because he has greater love than others, but because the divine love, to which all eagerly respond, has assigned that office to him (61-72). Dante though satisfied by the answer

Salita Già eran gli occhi miei rifissi al volto
della mia donna, e l' animo con essi,
e da ogni altro intento s' era tolto ;

Saturno e quella non ridea, ma : “ S' io ridessi,
mi cominciò, tu ti faresti quale
fu Semelè, quando di cener fessi ;

chè la bellezza mia, che per le scale
dell' eterno palazzo più s' accende,
com' hai veduto, quanto più si sale,

4

7

CANTO XXI

within its limits, yet pushes his demand further and asks why God assigned this office just to his interlocutor and no other (73-78). Hereon the spirit whirls and glows, rapt into such immediate and intense communion with God as to see his very essence, and yet declares that neither he nor the highest of the Seraphim sees the answer to this question, which lies unfathomably deep in the being of God. Let Dante warn the world, with its smoke-dimmed faculties, not to presume henceforth to attempt a problem which even in heaven is insoluble (79-102). Appalled by this reply, Dante now bashfully requests to know who it is that has thus checked his presumptuous enquiry, and he learns that it is Peter Damiani, who called himself Peter the Sinner, and who had dwelt in the now degenerate convent of Fonte Avellana, and in that of S. Maria in Pomposa (103-123). In connection with his reception, shortly before his death, of the Cardinal's hat he denounces the pomp and obesity of the Church dignitaries, whereupon there comes whirling down a throng of flames that group themselves round him and raise a cry which so stuns Dante that he understands not what it says (124-142).

Already were mine eyes fixed on my Lady's
countenance again, and my mind with them, The con-
templative
from all other intent removed ;
and she smiled not, but : " Were I to smile,"
she began, " thou wouldst be such as was
Semele, when she turned to ashes ;
for my beauty, which, along the steps of the
eternal palace kindleth more, as thou hast
seen, the higher the ascent,

- Saturno** se non si temperasse, tanto splende, 20
che il tuo mortal potere, al suo fulgore,
sarebbe fronda che tuono scoscende.
- Noi sem levati al settimo splendore, 23
che sotto il petto del Leone ardente
raggia mo misto giù del suo valore.
- Ficca di retro agli occhi tuoi la mente, 26
e fa di quelli specchi alla figura,
che in questo specchio ti sarà parvente.”
- Chi sapesse qual era la pastura 29
del viso mio nell’aspetto beato,
quand’ io mi trasmutai ad altra cura,
conoscerebbe quanto m’ era a grato 32
ubbidire alla mia celeste scorta,
contrappesando l’ un con l’ altro lato.
- Dentro al cristallo, che il vocabol porta, 35
cerchiando il mondo, del suo chiaro duce,
sotto cui giacque ogni malizia morta,
di color d’ oro, in che raggio traluce, 38
vid’ io uno scaleo eretto in suso
tanto, che nol seguiva la mia luce.
- Vidi anche per li gradi scender giuso 31
tanti splendor, ch’ io pensai ch’ ogni lume
che par nel ciel quindi fosse diffuso.
- E come, per lo natural costume, 34
le pole insieme, al cominciar del giorno,
si movono a scaldar le fredde piume ;
poi altre vanno via senza ritorno, 37
altre rivolgon sè, onde son mosse,
ed altre roteando fan soggiorno :
tal modo parve a me che quivi fosse 40
in quello sfavillar che insieme venne,
sì come in certo grado si percosse ;

were it not tempered, so doth glow as that thy mortal power, at its flash, would be like foliage that the thunder shattereth. The contemplative

We have arisen to the seventh splendour, which, underneath the bosom of the glowing Lion, downrayeth now mingling with its power.

Fix thy mind after thine eyes, and make of them mirrors to the figure which in this mirror shall be shown unto thee."

Whoso should know what was the pasture of my sight in the blessed aspect when I changed me to another care,

would recognise how much it was my joy to be obedient to my heavenly guide, weighing the one against the other side.

Within the crystal which doth bear the name, circling the world, of its illustrious leader, beneath whom every wickedness lay dead, coloured like gold which doth recast the ray, I saw a ladder erected upward so far that my sight might not follow it. Jacob's ladder

I saw, moreover, descend upon the steps so many splendours that methought every light which shineth in the heaven had been thence poured down.

And as, after their nature's way, the daws at the beginning of the day set out in company to warm their chilled feathers ;

then some go off without return, others come again to whence they started, and others make a wheeling sojourn ;

such fashion, meseemed, was in that sparkling which came in company, soon as it smote upon a certain step,

- Saturno** e quel che presso più ci si ritenne, 43
 si fe' sì chiaro, ch' io dicea pensando :
 " Io veggio ben l' amor che tu m' accenne.
- Ma quella, ond' io aspetto il come e il quando 46
 del dire e del tacer, si sta, ond' io
 contra il disio fo ben ch' io non domando "
- Perch' ella, che vedeva il tacer mio 49
 nel veder di colui che tutto vede,
 mi disse : " Solvi il tuo caldo disio."
- Ed io incominciai : " La mia mercede 52
 non mi fa degno della tua risposta,
 ma per colei che il chieder mi concede,
- vita beata, che ti stai nascosta 55
 dentro alla tua letizia, fammi nota
 la cagion che sì presso mi t' ha posta ;
- e di' perchè si tace in questa rota 58
 la dolce sinfonia di paradiso,
 che giù per l' altre sona sì devota."
- " Tu hai l' udir mortal, sì come il viso, 61
 rispose a me ; onde qui non si canta
 per quel che Beatrice non ha riso.
- Giù per li gradi della scala santa 64
 discesi tanto, sol per farti festa
 col dire e con la luce che m' ammantata :
- nè più amor mi fece esser più presta, 67
 chè più e tanto amor quinci su ferve,
 sì come il fiammeggiar ti manifesta ;
- ma l' alta carità, che ci fa serve 70
 pronte al consiglio che il mondo governa,
 sorteggia qui, sì come tu osserve."
- " Io veggio ben diss' io, sacra lucerna, 73
 come libero amore in questa corte
 basta a seguir la provvidenza eterna :

and the one which abode nighest to us became so bright that in my thought I said : " I do perceive the love which thou art signalling unto me. The contemplative

But she from whom I wait the how and when of speech and silence, pauses, and therefore I, counter to my desire, do well not to demand."

Whereat she, who saw my silence in his sight who seeth all, said to me : " Loose thy warm desire."

And I began : " My merit maketh me not worthy of thy response, but for her sake who granteth me to make request, Dante

O blessed life, who abidest hidden in thy gladness, make known to me the cause which so nigh to me hath placed thee ;

and say, wherefore in this wheel the sweet symphony of Paradise keepeth silence, which below throughout the others soundeth so devoutly."

" Thou hast the hearing, as the sight, of mortals," he answered me ; " wherefore here is no song for that same reason for which Beatrice hath not smiled. Peter Danzani

Down by the steps of the sacred ladder I so far descended only to do thee joyance with speech and with the light which mantleth me ;

nor was it greater love that made me swifter ; for more and so much love up there doth burn, as the flashing maketh plain to thee ;

but the deep love which holdeth us prompt servants of the counsel which governeth the world, maketh assignment here as thou observest."

" Yea, I perceive, O sacred lamp," said I, " how free love in this court sufficeth to make follow the eternal providence ; Dante



- Saturno ma quest' è quel ch' a cerner mi par forte, 76
 perchè predestinata fosti sola
 a questo ufficio tra le tue consorte."
- Nè venni prima all' ultima parola, 79
 che del suo mezzo fece il lume centro,
 girando sè, come veloce mola.
- Poi rispose l' amor che v' era dentro : 84
 "Luce divina sopra me s' appunta,
 penetrando per questa ond' io m' inventro ;
- la cui virtù, col mio veder congiunta, 85
 mi leva sopra me tanto, ch' io veggio
 la somma essenza della quale è munta.
- Quinci vien l' allegrezza, ond' io fiammeggio ; 88
 perchè alla vista mia, quant' ella è chiara,
 la chiarezza della fiamma pareggio.
- Ma quell' alma nel ciel che più si schiara, 91
 quel Serafin che in Dio più l' occhio ha fissato,
 alla domanda tua non satisfara ;
- però che sì s' inoltra nell' abisso 94
 dell' eterno statuto quel che chiedi,
 che da ogni creata vista è scisso.
- Ed al mondo mortal, quando tu riedi, 97
 questo rapporta, sì che non presuma
 a tanto segno più mover li piedi.
- La mente che qui luce, in terra fuma ; 100
 onde riguarda come può laggiù
 quel che non puote, perchè il ciel l' assuma "
- Sì mi prescrisser le parole sue, 103
 ch' io lasciai la questione, e mi ritrassi
 a domandarla umilmente chi fue.
- "Tra due liti d' Italia surgon sassi, 106
 e non molto distanti alla tua patria,
 tanto che i tuoni assai suonan più bassi,

but this it is, which seemeth me hard to discern : **The con-
templative**
Wherefore thou alone amongst thy consorts
wast predestined to this office."

Nor had I come to the last word, ere the light
made his mid point a centre, and whirled him-
self like to a swift millstone.

Then answered the love that was therein : "The **Peter
Damian**
divine light doth focus it on me, piercing into
that wherein I am embowelled ;

the power whereof, conjoined unto my sight, up-
lifteth me above myself so far that I perceive
the supreme essence whence it is milked.

Thence cometh the joy wherewith I flame ; for
to my sight, even as it is clear, the brightness
of the flame do I equate.

But that soul in heaven which is most illuminated,
that Seraph who hath his eye most fixed on
God, had given no satisfaction to thy question ;
because so far within the abyss of the eternal **The
abysmal
mystery**
statute lieth the thing thou askest, that from
all created vision it is cut off.

And to the mortal world, when thou returnest,
take this report, that it presume not more to
move its feet to-ward so great a goal.

The mind which shineth here, on earth doth
smoke, and therefore think how it should have
power there below, which it hath not even
though heaven take it to itself."

Such limits did his words impose on me, I left
the question, and restrained me to demanding
humbly who himself was.

"'Twixt the two shores of Italy crags arise, and
not far distant from thy fatherland, so high
the thunders sound far lower down,

- Saturno** e fanno un gibbo, che si chiama Catria,
di sotto al quale è consecrato un ermo,
che suol esser disposto a sola latria.” 109
- Così ricominciommi il terzo sermo,
e poi, continuando, disse: “ Quivi
al servizio di Dio mi fei sì fermo,
che pur con cibi di liquor d’ ulivi,
lievemente passava caldi e gieli,
contento nei pensier contemplativi. 112
- Render solea quel chiostro a questi cieli
fertilmente, ed ora è fatto vano,
sì che tosto convien che si riveli. 115
- In quel loco fu’ io Pier Damiano;
e Pietro peccator fui nella casa
di Nostra Donna in sul lito Adriano. 118
- Poca vita mortal m’ era rimasa,
quando fui chiesto e tratto a quel cappello,
che pur di male in peggio si travasa. 121
- Venne Cephas, e venne il gran vasello
dello Spirito Santo, magri e scalzi,
prendendo il cibo di qualunque ostello. 124
- Or voglion quinci e quindi chi rinalzi
li moderni pastori, e chi li meni,
tanto son gravi, e chi di retro gli alzi. 127
- Copron dei manti loro i palafreni,
sì che due bestie van sott’ una pelle:
o pazienza, che tanto sostieni!” 130
- A questa voce vid’ io più fiammelle
di grado in grado scendere e girarsi,
ed ogni giro le facea più belle. 133
- Dintorno a questa vennero, e fermarsi,
e fero un grido di sì alto suono,
che non potrebbe qui assigliarsi;
tù io lo intesi, sì mi vinse il tuono. 136

and make a hump whose name is Catria, 'neath
 which a hermitage is consecrate, which erst
 was given only unto prayer.”

The con-
 templative

So he began to me again the third discourse,
 and then continuing, said : “There in God’s
 service I became so rooted
 that only with olive-juice viands I lightly
 traversed heat and cold, satisfied in thoughts
 contemplative.

That cloister erst bore ample fruit unto these
 heavens, and is now become so futile, that ere
 long needs must it be revealed.

Fonte
 Avellana

I, Peter of Damian, was in that same place ;
 and I, Peter the Sinner, was in the house of
 Our Lady on the Adriatic shore.

Little of mortal life was left to me when I was
 called and drawn unto the hat which doth but
 change from bad receptacle to worse.

Cephas came, and the great vessel of the Holy
 Spirit came, lean and unshod, taking their
 food from every hostelry.

Now the modern pastors must needs be but-
 tressed on this side and on that, and have one
 to lead them on, so heavy are they, and one
 to hoist behind.

Modern
 prelates

With their mantles they o’erspread their pal-
 freys, so that two beasts travel beneath one
 hide ; O patience, that so much endureth ! ”

At this voice I saw more flames from step to
 step descend and whirl, and every whirl made
 them more beauteous.

Around this one they came and stayed them
 selves and raised a cry of so deep sound that
 here it may not find similitude ; nor did I
 understand it, so vanquished me the thunder.

24. The joy of contemplation against that of obedience.

25-27. Saturn reigned in the age of gold, which is identified by the classical poets with the age of absolute simplicity and temperance.

43. This is the spirit of Peter Damiani († 1072). The poverty of his parents induced them to expose him as an infant; but he was rescued, and after much hardship was educated by his brother Damian, in gratitude to whom he took the surname of "Damian's Peter." He was made Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in 1058. He is best known for his unsparing castigation of the corrupt morals of the monks of his day.

84. 'The light in the centre of which I dwell.'

87. God.

89, 90. Compare xiv. 40, 41.

106-111. The monastery of Fonte Avellana upon the Apennines.

115. Lenten fare, cooked with olive oil, not lard or butter.

121-123. A vexed passage. The reading of line 122 is doubtful. If we read *fui* = "I was," the two Peters are to be identified. If we read *fu*, = "he was," they are to be distinguished. Reading *fu*, we must identify Peter the Sinner with Peter degli Onesti who founded the church of Santa Maria del Porto, near Ravenna, in accomplishment of a vow, about A.D. 1096. He lived in a little house adjoining the church till his death in 1119. His tomb may still be seen in the church, and he is described upon it as *Petrus Peccans*. The meaning would then be: 'I, Damian's Peter, was in Fonte Avellana, whereas Petrus Peccans dwelt by Santa Maria del Porto, and is another man.' In this case Dante intended the lines expressly to guard against the confusion between the two Peters. But the passage so read seems somewhat frigid.

Now Peter Damiani also was in the constant habit of calling himself *Petrus Peccator*. It seems extremely improbable that Dante was ignorant of this; and if he knew it, he certainly would not have used this designation expressly to distinguish Peter Damiani from another Peter. The best editors, then, are probably right in reading *fui*, and identifying the Pietro Damiano

of line 121 and the Pietro Peccator of line 122. But this does not end the difficulty. Did Dante confound the Pietro degli Onesti, buried in Santa Maria del Porto, with Peter Damiani, and did he mean to say: 'I went by the name of Peter Damiani in Fonte Avellana, but by the name of Petrus Peccator in the hermitage of Santa Maria del Porto?' This seems extremely improbable. Dante can hardly have confounded the two Peters. Moreover, Peter Damiani used the signature *Petrus Peccator* when he was in Fonte Avellana as well as elsewhere, and we may be sure that Dante would not have gone out of his way to make so precise a statement about the different appellations for the same man in different places when he could not have ascertained it to be true. There is a third hypothesis suggested by a passage in the *Breviarium Romanum*, which, after recording Peter Damiani's reception into Fonte Avellana, says that not long afterwards "he was sent by his abbot on a mission to the monastery of Pomposa, and afterwards to the convent of St Vincent of Petra Pertusa," both of which he reformed. Now this monastery of Pomposa, "which is situated on a small island at the mouth of the Po, near Commachio" (Toynbee), was a convent of Santa Maria, and is so described by Peter Damiani himself. Moreover, it has recently been shown that Peter Damiani spent two years there. Probably, therefore, the reference in lines 122, 123 is to this monastery rather than to the hermitage of Santa Maria del Porto. But even then there remains a great difficulty of translation. One of the suggestions made is grammatically admissible, but poetically worse than impossible. 'I dwelt there, Peter Damiani, also known as Petrus Peccator. I once visited the monastery of Pomposa.' On the other hand, the translation offered in the text supposes so awkward a construction that it may well be open to doubt. Fortunately (if we accept the reading *fui* and take the monastery to be Pomposa) the sense, if not the construing, is clear.

124-126. The cardinal's hat.

127, 128. Peter (*John* i. 42) and Paul (*Acts* ix. 15).

PARADISO

BEATRICE soothes and reassures Dante in his terror, and tells him of the divine vengeance, invoked in the cry he has heard (1-18). She bids him look again upon the lights of Saturn; and the brightest amongst them then advances to him, encourages him to trust in the affection of the spirits that surround him, and answers his question without awaiting its utterance (19-36). He is Benedict, of Monte Cassino fame, and he is surrounded by other contemplative saints (37-51). Encouraged by his words to fling all restraint aside, Dante asks if he may see him in his undisguised form of glory (52-60); and he replies that this lofty desire shall be fulfilled in the Empyrean where all desires have their perfect fulfilment, because there is no temporal succession there but eternal fulness. Contemplation alone can lead to this timeless and spaceless life, whence the Jacob's ladder, that Dante's human eye cannot follow to its summit, is planted upon the star of abstinence and contemplation, and reaches to the heaven which Jacob saw it touch (61-72). But now

Saturno Oppreso di stupore alla mia guida
 mi volsi, come parvol che ricorre
 sempre colà dove più si confida;
 e quella, come madre che soccorre
 subito al figlio pallido ed anelo
 con la sua voce che il suol ben disporre,
 mi disse: "Non sai tu che tu sei in cielo?
 e non sai tu che il cielo è tutto santo,
 e ciò che ci si fa vien da buon zelo?
 Come t' avrebbe trasmutato il canto,
 ed io ridendo, mo pensar lo puoi,
 poscia che il grido t' ha mosso cotanto;

CANTO XXII

none mounts this ladder, for all the monastic orders are degenerate. Yet God has ere now wrought greater wonders than the renewal of their spirit would be. Therefore there is yet hope (73-96). Hereon Benedict returns to his company, and they all are swept whirling back to the highest heaven, while Beatrice by her glance raises Dante instantaneously into his natal sign of Gemini, to the influences of which the poet now appeals for aid in his recording task (97-123). Beatrice bids him, as he draws near to the final glory, and ere he meets the triumphant hosts in this eighth sphere, to strengthen and rejoice his heart by gathering together his heavenly experiences up to this point and realising how far he has left earth behind (124-132). He looks down through all the seven spheres, sees the clear side of the moon and all the related movements and positions of the heavenly bodies, sees the little earth for which we fight so fiercely stretched out before him so that he can trace the rivers right down from the watersheds to the seashore. Then he turns again to Beatrice's eyes (133-154).

Oppressed with stupor to my guide I turned, as The con-
templative
doth a little child who hath recourse ever
where most he hath his confidence ;
and she, like a mother who succoureth quick her
pale and gasping child, with her own voice
which still disposeth him aright,
said to me : " Knowst thou not thou art in
heaven ? and knowst thou not heaven is all
holy, and that which here is done cometh of
righteous zeal ?
How the song had transmuted thee, and I in
smiling, now mayst thou think since the cry
hath so moved thee ;

- Saturno** nel qual, se inteso avessi i preghi suoi, 23
già ti sarebbe nota la vendetta,
che tu vedrai innanzi che tu muoi.
- La spada di quassù non taglia in fretta, 26
nè tardo, ma che al parer di colui
che disiando o temendo l' aspetta.
- Ma rivolgiti omai inverso altrui, 29
ch' assai illustri spiriti vedrai,
se com' io dico l' aspetto ridui."
- Com' a lei piacque gli occhi dirizzai, 32
e vidi cento sperule, che insieme
più s' abbellivan coi mutui rai.
- Io stava come quei che in sè repreme 35
la punta del disio, e non s' attenta
del domandar, sì del troppo si teme.
- E la maggiore e la più luculenta 38
di quelle margherite innanzi fessi,
per far di sè la mia voglia contenta.
- Poi dentro a lei udi': "Se tu vedessi, 31
com' io, la carità che tra noi arde,
li tuoi concetti sarebbero espressi ;
- ma perchè tu, aspettando, non tarde 34
all' alto fine, io ti farò risposta
pure al pensier di che sì ti riguarde.
- Quel monte, a cui Casino è nella costa, 37
fu frequentato già in sulla cima
dalla gente ingannata e mal disposta.
- E quel son io che su vi portai prima 40
lo nome di colui, che in terra addusse
la verità che tanto ci sublima ;
- e tanta grazia sopra me rilusse, 43
ch' io ritrassi le ville circostanti
dall' empio culto che il mondo sedusse.

wherein, hadst thou understood their prayers, already would be known to thee the vengeance which thou shalt see ere that thou die. The contemplative

The sword from here above cleaveth not in haste nor tardy, save to his deeming who in longing or in fear awaiteth it.

But turn thee now to others ; for many illustrious spirits shalt thou see, if thou again dost lead thy look accordant to my speaking."

As was her pleasure directed I mine eyes, and saw an hundred spherelets, which together were made more beauteous by their mutual rays.

I stood as one repressing in himself the prick of his desire, who doth not frame to ask, so feareth he to exceed.

And the greatest and most shining of these pearls Benedict came forward to make my will content concerning him.

Then there within I heard : " Didst thou see, as I, the love which burneth amongst us, thy thoughts had been expressed ;

but, lest thou by waiting lag from the lofty goal, I will make answer only to the thought of which thou art thus circumspect.

That mount, upon whose slope Casino lieth, was erst thronged on its summit by the folk deceived and ill-disposed.

And I am he who first bore up there his name, who brought to earth that truth which doth lift us so high ;

and so great grace shone o'er me, that I drew the places round about back from the impious cult which did seduce the world.

- Saturno** Questi altri fochi tutti contemplanti 45
 uomini furo, accesi di quel caldo
 che fa nascere i fiori e i frutti santi.
- Qui è Maccario, qui è Romoaldo, 49
 qui son li frati miei, che dentro ai chiostri
 fermar li piedi e tennero il cor saldo.”
- Ed io a lui: “L’affetto, che dimostri 52
 meco parlando, e la buona sembianza,
 ch’io veggio e noto in tutti gli ardor vostri,
 così m’ha dilatata mia fidanza, 55
 come il sol fa la rosa, quando aperta
 tanto divien quant’ell’ha di possanza;
 però ti prego, e tu, padre, m’accerta 58
 s’io posso prender tanta grazia, ch’io
 ti veggia con imagine scoperta.”
- Ond’egli: “Frate, il tuo alto disio 61
 s’adempierà in sull’ultima spera,
 dove s’adempion tutti gli altri e il mio.
- Ivi è perfetta, matura ed intera 64
 ciascuna disianza; in quella sola
 è ogni parte là dove sempr’era,
 perchè non è in loco, e non s’impola, 67
 e nostra scala infino ad essa varca,
 onde così dal viso ti s’invoia.
- Infin lassù la vide il patriarca 70
 Jacob porgere la superna parte,
 quando gli apparve d’angeli sì carica.
- Ma per salirla mo nessun diparte 73
 da terra i piedi, e la regola mia
 rimasa è giù per danno delle carte.
- Le mura, che soleano esser badia, 76
 fatte sono spelonche, e le cocolle
 sacca son piene di farina ria.

These other flames were all contemplatives The con-
templative
kindled by that warmth which giveth birth
to the holy flowers and fruits.

Here is Maccarius, here is Romoaldus, here are
my brothers who within the cloisters stayed
their feet and kept sound their heart."

And I to him: "The love thou showest, speak- Dante
ing with me, and the propitious semblance
which I perceive and note in all your glows,
hath so outstretched my confidence as the sun
doth the rose when it openeth to its utmost
power;

wherefore, I pray thee, and do thou, father, give
me assurance whether I may receive so great
grace as to behold thee with uncovered image."

Whereat he: "Brother, thy high desire shall be Benedict
fulfilled in the last sphere, where all the rest
have their fulfilment, and mine too.

There perfect, ripe, and whole is each desire;
in it alone is every part there where it ever
was,

for it is not in space, nor hath it poles; and our
ladder even to it goeth, wherefore it thus doth
steal it from thy sight.

Right up to there the patriarch Jacob saw it
stretch its upper part, when it was seen by
him so with angels laden.

But to ascend it now none severeth his feet from
earth, and my rule abideth there for wasting
of the parchments.

The walls which were wont to be a house of
prayer, have become dens, and the hoods are
sacks full of foul meal.

- Saturno** Ma grave usura tanto non si tolle 79
 contra il piacer di Dio, quanto quel frutto
 che fa il cor dei monaci sì folle.
- Chè, quantunque la Chiesa guarda, tutto 82
 è della gente che per Dio domanda,
 non di parenti, nè d' altro più brutto.
- La carne dei mortali è tanto blanda, 85
 che giù non basta buon cominciamento
 dal nascer della quercia al far la ghianda.
- Pier cominciò senz' oro e senza argento, 88
 ed io con orazioni e con digiuno,
 e Francesco umilmente il suo convento.
- E se guardi al principio di ciascuno, 91
 poscia riguardi là dov' è trascorso,
 tu vederai del bianco fatto bruno.
- Veramente Giordan volto retrorso 94
 più fu, e il mar fuggir, quando Dio volse,
 mirabile a veder, che qui il soccorso."
- Così mi disse, ed indi si ricolse 97
 al suo collegio, e il collegio si strinse;
 poi, come turbo, tutto in su s' accolse.
- Salita** La dolce donna retro a lor mi pinse 100
 con un sol cenno su per quella scala,
 sì sua virtù la mia natura vinse;
- nè mai quaggiù, dove si monta e cala 103
 naturalmente, fu sì ratto moto,
 ch' agguagliar si potesse alla mia ala.
- S' io torni mai, lettore, a quel devoto 106
 trionfo, per lo quale io piango spesso
 le mie peccata, e il petto mi percoto,
- tu non avresti in tanto tratto e messo 109
 nel foco il dito, in quanto io vidi il segno
 che segue il Tauro, e fui dentro da esso.

But heavy usury is not exacted so counter to
 God's pleasure as that fruit which doth so
 madden the monks' hearts. The con-
templative

For what the Church holdeth in her keeping, all
 pertaineth to the folk that make petition in God's
 name; not unto kindred, or other filthier thing.

The flesh of mortals is so blandishing that
 down on earth good beginning sufficeth not
 for all the space from the upspringing of the
 oak to acorn-bearing.

Peter began his gathering without gold or silver, Degener-
acy of the
Religious
 and I mine with prayers and fast, and Francis
 his in humbleness.

And if thou scan the beginning of each one, and
 scan again whither it hath gone astray, thou
 shalt see the white turned dusky.

But Jordan back returning, and the sea fleeing
 when God willed, are more wondrous sights
 than were the rescue here."

So spake he to me, and then gathered him to his
 assembly; and the assembly drew close; then
 like a whirlwind was all gathered upward.

The sweet Lady thrust me after them, only with Beatrice
 a sign, up by that ladder, so did her power
 overcome my nature;

nor ever here below, where we mount and de-
 scend by nature's law, was so swift motion as
 might compare unto my wing.

O reader, by my hopes of turning back to that
 devout triumph, for the which I many a time
 bewail my sins, and smite upon my breast,

thou hadst not drawn back and plunged thy
 finger in the flame in so short space as that
 wherein I saw the sign that followeth the
 Bull, and was within it.

- Cielo O gloriose stelle, o lume pregno
Stellato di gran virtù, dal quale io riconosco
tutto, qual che si sia, lo mio ingegno,
con voi nasceva e s'ascondeva vosco
quegli ch'è padre d'ogni mortal vita,
quand'io senti' da prima l'aer Tosco;
e poi, quando mi fu grazia largita
d'entrar nell'alta rota che vi gira,
la vostra region mi fu sortita.
- A voi devotamente ora sospira
l'anima mia per acquistar virtute
al passo forte, che a sè la tira.
- "Tu sei sì presso all'ultima salute,
cominciò Beatrice, che tu dei
aver le luci tue chiare ed acute.
- E però, prima che tu più t'inlei,
rimira in giù, e vedi quanto mondo
sotto li piedi già esser ti fei;
sì che il tuo cor, quantunque può, giocondo
s'appresenti alla turba trionfante,
che lieta vien per questo etera tondo."
- Col viso ritornai per tutte e quante
le sette spere, e vidi questo globo
tal ch'io sorrisi del suo vil sembiante;
e quel consiglio per migliore approbo
che l'ha per meno; e chi ad altro pensa
chiamar si può veracemente probo.
- Vidi la figlia di Latona incensa
senza quell'ombra, che mi fu cagione
per che già la credetti rara e densa.
- L'aspetto del tuo nato, Iperione,
quivi sostenni, e vidi com' si move
circa e vicino a lui Maia e Dione.

O stars of glory, O light impregnated with The re-
deemed
mighty power, from which I recognise all,
whatsoe'er it be, my genius ;

with you was rising, and hiding him with you,
he who is father of each mortal life, when
I first felt the air of Tuscany ;

and then when grace was bestowed on me to
enter the lofty wheel that rolleth you, your
region was assigned to me.

To you devoutly now my soul doth breathe, to
gain the power for the hard passage that doth
draw her to it.

"Thou art so nigh to the supreme weal," began Beatrice
Beatrice, "that thou shouldst have thine eyes
clear and keen.

And therefore, ere thou further wend thereinto,
look down and see how great a universe I
have already put beneath thy feet ;

so that thy heart, rejoicing to its utmost, may
be presented to the throng triumphant which
cometh glad through this sphered ether."

With my sight I turned back through all and Retrospect
every of the seven spheres, and saw this globe
such that I smiled at its sorry semblance ;

and that counsel I approve as best which holdeth
it for least ; and he whose thoughts are turned
elsewhither may be called truly upright.

I saw the daughter of Latona kindled without
that shade which erst gave me cause to deem
her rare and dense.

The aspect of thy son, Hyperion, I there en-
dured, and saw how Maia and Dione move
about and near him.

- Cielo
Stellato
- Quindi m' apparve il temperar di Giove 145
tra il padre e il figlio; e quivi mi fu chiaro
il variar che fanno di lor dove.
- E tutti e sette mi si dimostrarono 148
quanto son grandi, e quanto son veloci,
e come sono in distante riparo.
- L' aiuola che ci fa tanto feroci, 151
volgendom' io con gli eterni Gemelli,
tutta m' apparve dai colli alle foci:
poscia rivolsi gli occhi agli occhi belli. 154

28. Benedict (480-543), the founder of the Benedictines, is frequently represented in paintings as the type of monastic discipline.

33. 'You would not have held back, timidly repressing your questions.'

37-39. Monte Cassino "is situated on the spur of Monte Cairo, a few miles from Aquino, in the N. of Campania, almost exactly half-way between Rome and Naples." It was "crowned by a temple of Apollo, and a grove sacred to Venus."—Toynbee.

49. Probably Macarius the Egyptian (301-391), one of the monks of the Saitic desert, a disciple of Anthony.

Romualdus "saw in a vision a ladder stretching from earth to heaven after the similitude of the patriarch Jacob; whereon men in white vesture ascended and descended; whereby he perceived that the monks of Camaldoli, of whose institution he was the author, were wondrously set forth. Finally, when he had lived 120 years, and during 100 of them had served God in the utmost austerity of life, he took his way to him in the year of salvation 1027."—*Breviarium Romanum*. He was of the Ravennese family of Onesti. Camaldoli is in the Casentino district, and is the hermitage referred to in *Purg.* v. 96.

61-69. *i.e.* 'Therein is no temporal succession, but eternal co-existence, and therefore completeness.' (Compare xxix. 10-12: xxx. 61-99, *Argument*.)

74, 75. My "Rule" serves no purpose except to spoil the parchments on which it is written.

Next appeared to me the tempering of Jove be-
 tween his father and his son; and there was clear The
redeemed
 to me the varying they make in their position.
 And all the seven were displayed to me, how
 great they are and swift, and how distant each
 from other in repair.

The thrashing-floor which maketh us wax so
 fierce, as I rolled with the eternal Twins, was
 all revealed to me from ridge to river-mouth;
 then to the beauteous eyes mine eyes again I
 turned.

79-84. *Interest* is regarded as the "increase" of the capital. Hence Dante speaks of it by implication as "fruit," and says that the illicit increase or gain of usury is not so hateful to God as those illicit gains in frenzied greed for which the monks rob the poor, whose guardians they are, and enrich their relatives, or even their paramours.

85. The Italian *blanda* is variously taken as "seducing" or as "easily seduced."

115-117. This fixes Dante's birthday as somewhere between the 18th May and the 17th June (both inclusive), the time during which the sun was in Gemini.

139-141. Compare ii. 60. Dante conceived that the other side of the moon, which is always turned away from us and toward the higher heavens, had no dark patches.

142. Apollo = the sun.

144. *Maia* and *Dione*, somewhat strangely put for the son of *Maia* (Mercury) and the daughter of *Dione* (Venus).

145. The temperate Jove between the hot Mars and the chill Saturn. Compare xviii. 68.

147. The nature of their orbits.

151. A thrashing-floor was a round flat area. Hence the comparison.

153. Not to be understood as implying that the whole inhabited area of the earth was visible to him. Compare xxvii. 76-87, *Argument*, *note*, and *map* (p. 397).

PARADISO

BEATRICE turns towards Cancer, the region of the summer Solstice, eastward from Gemini where the poet and his guide are placed; and her intent look wakes the eagerness of expectancy in him (1-15). E'er long he sees heaven lighted by the approach of the triumphant hosts of Christ, the whole harvest of the heavenly husbandry; and outshining all is Christ, whose person pierces the swathings of his glory with blinding light; whereupon, as lightning dilating in the womb of a cloud bursts forth, having no space within, so Dante's mind bursts its own limits and loses itself (16-45). . . . Beatrice recalls him as from a forgotten dream, and his sight strengthened by the vision of Christ, is now able to endure her smile (46-54). What he then saw he needs must leave untold, albeit what he is forcing himself, line by line,

Cielo
Stellato

Come l' augello, intra l' amate fronde,
posato al nido dei suoi dolci nati
la notte che le cose ci nasconde,
che, per veder gli aspetti disciati, 4
e per trovar lo cibo onde li pasca,
in che i gravi labor gli sono aggrati,
previene il tempo in su l' aperta frasca, 7
e con ardente affetto il sole aspetta,
fiso guardando pur che l' alba nasca;
così la donna mia si stava eretta 10
ed attenta, rivolta in ver la plaga,
sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta,
sì che veggendola io sospesa e vaga, 13
fecimi quale è quei, che disiando
altro vorria e sperando s' appaga.

CANTO XXIII

to record proclaims that he yields to no shrinking desire to spare himself (55-69). At Beatrice's bidding he mans himself again to look upon the garden of Christ, the Virgin rose and the Apostolic lilies ; but Christ himself, in tenderness to the pilgrim's powers, has withdrawn above and shines down upon his chosen ones, himself unseen (70-87). Gabriel descends and crowns the virgin who then rises through the *Primum Mobile* far out of sight, while the saints reach up tenderly after her with their flames (88-129). Oh, what wealth of glory is in these sainted souls who on earth chose and spread the true riches that wax not old. There Peter triumphs in the victory of Christ, with the ancient and the modern assembly for whom his key has unlocked heaven (130-139).

As the bird amidst the loved foliage who hath The
 brooded on the nest of her sweet offspring redeemed
 through the night which hideth things from us,
 who, to look upon their longed-for aspect and
 to find the food wherewith to feed them,
 wherein her heavy toils are pleasant to her,
 foreruns the time, upon the open spray, and
 with glowing love awaiteth the sun, fixedly
 gazing for the dawn to rise ;
 so was my Lady standing, erect and eager, Beatrice
 turned toward the region beneath which the
 sun showeth least speed ;
 so that, as I looked on her in her suspense and
 longing, I became like him who, desiring,
 would fain have other than he hath, and
 payeth him with hope.

- Cielo
Stellato
- Ma poco fu tra uno ed altro quando, 16
del mio attender, dico, e del vedere
lo ciel venir più e più rischiarando.
- E Beatrice disse: “Ecco le schiere 19
del trionfo di Cristo, e tutto il frutto
ricolto del girar di queste spere.”
- Pareami che il suo viso ardesse tutto, 22
e gli occhi avea di letizia sì pieni
che passar mi convien senza costrutto.
- Quale nei plenilunii sereni 25
Trivia ride tra le ninfe eterne,
che dipingono il ciel per tutti i seni,
vid’ io, sopra migliaia di lucerne, 28
un sol che tutte quante l’ accendea,
come fa il nostro le viste superne ;
- e per la viva luce trasparea 31
la lucente sustanzia tanto chiara
nel viso mio, che non la sostenea.
- O Beatrice, dolce guida e cara ! 34
Ella mi disse : “ Quel che ti sopranza
è virtù, da cui nulla si ripara.
- Quivi è la sapienza e la possanza 37
ch’ aprì le strade intra il cielo e la terra,
onde fu già sì lunga disianza.”
- Come foco di nube si disserra 40
per dilatarsi sì che non vi cape,
e fuor di sua natura in giù s’ atterra ;
- la mente mia così, tra quelle dape 43
fatta più grande, di sè stessa uscìo,
e, che si fesse, rimembrar non sape. . . .
- “ Apri gli occhi e riguarda qual son io ; 46
tu hai vedute cose, che possente
sei fatto a sostener lo riso mio.”

But short the space 'twixt one and the other **The**
when, of fixing my attent I mean, and of see- **redeemed**
 ing the heaven grow brilliant more and more.

And Beatrice said: "Behold the hosts of
 Christ's triumph, and all the fruit gathered
 by the circling of these spheres."

Meseemed her countenance was all aglow, and
 her eyes so full of gladness, that I must needs
 pass it unconstrued by.

As in the calm full moons Trivia smileth amongst
 the eternal nymphs who paint the heaven in
 each recess,

I saw, thousands of lamps surmounting, one sun **Christ**
 which all and each enkindled, as doth our
 own the things we see above ;

and through the living light outglowed the
 shining substance so bright upon my vision
 that it endured it not.

Oh Beatrice, sweet guide and dear ! She said
 to me: "That which o'ercometh thee is
 power against which nought hath defence.

Therein is the wisdom and the might which oped
 the pathways betwixt heaven and earth, for
 which there erst had been so long desire."

Even as fire is unbarred from the cloud, because
 it so dilateth that it hath not space within, and
 counter to its nature dasheth down to earth,

so my mind, grown greater 'mid these feasts, forth
 issued from itself, and what it then became
 knoweth not to recall. . . .

"Open thine eyes and look on what I am ; thou **Beatrice**
 hast seen things by which thou art made
 mighty to sustain my smile."

- Cielo Io era come quei, che si risente 49
 Stellato di vision obblita, e che s' ingegna
 indarno di ridurlasi alla mente,
 quando io udi' questa profferta, degna 52
 di tanto grado, che mai non si estingue
 del libro che il preterito rassegna.
 Se mo sonasser tutte quelle lingue, 55
 che Polinnia con le suore fero
 del latte lor dolcissimo più pingue,
 per aiutarmi, al millesmo del vero 58
 non si verria, cantando il santo riso,
 e quanto il santo aspetto facea mero.
 E così, figurando il Paradiso, 61
 convien saltar lo sacrato poema,
 come chi trova suo cammin reciso.
 Ma chi pensasse il ponderoso tema, 64
 e l' omero mortal che se ne carica,
 nol biasmerebbe, se sott' esso trema.
 Non è pilleggio da picciola barca 67
 quel che fendendo va l' ardita prora,
 nè da nocchier ch' a sè medesmo parca.
 "Perchè la faccia mia sì t' innamora, 70
 che tu non ti rivolgi al bel giardino
 che sotto i raggi di Cristo s' infiora?
 Quivi è la Rosa, in che il Verbo divino 73
 carne si fece; quivi son li Gigli,
 al cui odor si prese il buon cammino."
 Così Beatrice; ed io, ch' a' suoi consigli 76
 tutto era pronto, ancora mi rendei
 alla battaglia dei debili cigli.
 Come a raggio di sol, che puro mei 79
 per fratta nube, già prato di fiori
 vider, coperti d' ombra, gli occhi miei;

I was as one who cometh to himself from a for-
 gotten vision, and doth strive in vain to bring ^{The}
 it back unto his mind, ^{redeemed}

when I heard this proffer, worthy of so great
 gratitude, as never to be blotted from the
 book that doth record the past.

If now there were to sound all of those tongues ^{Beatrice}
 which Polyhymnia with her sisters made rich-
 est with their sweetest milk,

it would not mount, in aiding me, unto the thou-
 sandth of the truth, hymning the sacred smile,
 and how deep-clear it made the sacred aspect.

And therefore, figuring Paradise, needs must the
 sacred poem make a leap, as who should find
 his pathway intercepted.

But whoso thinketh of the weighty theme and of
 the mortal shoulder which hath charged itself
 therewith, will think no blame if under it it
 trembleth.

It is no voyage for a little barque, that which my
 daring keel cleaveth as it goeth, nor for a
 helmsman who doth spare himself.

“Wherefore doth my face so enamour thee that
 thou turnest thee not to the fair garden which
 flowereth beneath the rays of Christ?”

There is the Rose wherein the Word Divine ^{The Virgin}
 made itself flesh; there are the Lilies at whose ^{and}
 odour the good path was taken. ^{Apostles}

So Beatrice: and I, who to her counsels was
 all eager, again surrendered me to the conflict
 of the feeble brows.

As under the sun's ray, which issueth pure
 through a broken cloud, ere now mine eyes
 have seen a meadow full of flowers, when
 themselves covered by the shade;

- Cielo vid' io così più turbe di splendori 82
 Stellato folgorati di su da raggi ardenti,
 senza veder principio dei fulgori.
- O benigna virtù che sì gl' imprenti, 85
 su t' esaltasti per largirmi loco
 agli occhi lì, che non eran possenti.
- Il nome del bel fior, ch' io sempre invoco 88
 e mane e sera, tutto mi ristrinse
 l' animo ad avvisar lo maggior foco.
- E come ambo le luci mi dipinse 91
 il quale e il quanto della viva stella,
 che lassù vince, come quaggiù vinse,
 per entro il cielo scese una facella, 94
 formata in cerchio a guisa di corona,
 e cinsela, e girossi intorno ad ella.
- Qualunque melodia più dolce suona 97
 quaggiù, e più a sè l' anima tira,
 parrebbe nube che squarciata tuona,
 comparata al sonar di quella lira, 100
 onde si coronava il bel zaffiro,
 del quale il ciel più chiaro s' inzaffira.
- "Io sono amore angelico, che giro 103
 l' alta letizia che spira del ventre,
 che fu albergo del nostro disiro ;
 e girerommi, donna del ciel, mentre 106
 che seguirai tuo figlio, e farai dia
 più la spera suprema, perchè gli entre."
- Così la circolata melodia 109
 si sigillava, e tutti gli altri lumi
 facean sonar lo nome di Maria.
- Lo real manto di tutti i volumi 112
 del mondo, che più ferve e più s' avviva
 nell' alito di Dio e nei costumi,

so beheld I many a throng of splendours, glowed **The**
 on from above by ardent rays, beholding not **redeemed**
 the source whence came the glowings.

O benign power which dost so imprint them !
 thou hadst thyself uplifted to yield place there
 for mine eyes that lacked in power.

'The name of the beauteous flower which I ever **The Virgin**
 invoke, morning and evening, drew all my
 mind together to look upon the greatest flame.

And when on both mine eyes had been depicted
 the quality and greatness of the living star
 which conquereth up there, e'en as down
 here it conquered,

from within the heaven descended a torch circle- **Gabriel**
 formed, in fashion of a crown, and girt her
 and wheeled round her.

Whatever melody soundeth sweetest here below,
 and most doth draw the soul unto itself,
 would seem a rent cloud thundering,

compared unto the sound of that lyre whereby
 was crowned the beauteous sapphire by which
 the brightest heaven is ensapphired.

"I am the angelic love who circle the lofty
 gladness that doth breathe from out the womb
 which was the hostelry of our desire ;

and I will circle, Lady of heaven, until thou fol-
 lowest thy son, and dost make yet more divine
 the supreme sphere in that thou enterest it."

Thus the circling melody impressed itself, and
 all the other lights made sound the name of
 Mary.

The royal mantle of all the swathings of the **Primum**
 universe which most doth burn and most is **mobile**
 quickened in the breath and in the ways of God,

- Cielo avea sopra di noi l' interna riva 115
 Stellato tanto distante, che la sua parvenza
 là dov' io era ancor non m' appariva
 Però non ebber gli occhi miei potenza 118
 di seguitar la coronata fiamma,
 che si levò appresso sua semenza.
 E come fantolin, che in ver la mamma 121
 tende le braccia poi che il latte prese,
 per l' animo che in fin di fuor s' infiamma;
 ciascun di quei candori in su si stese 124
 con la sua fiamma, sì che l' alto affetto,
 ch' egli aveano a Maria, mi fu palese.
 Indi rimaser lì nel mio cospetto, 127
Regina coeli cantando sì dolce,
 che mai da me non si partì il diletto.
 Oh quanta è l' ubertà che si soffolce 130
 in quell' arche ricchissime, che foro
 a seminar quaggiù buone bobolce!
 Quivi si vive e gode del tesoro 133
 che s' acquistò piangendo nell' esilio
 di Babilon, dove si lasciò l' oro.
 Quivi trionfa, sotto l' alto Filio 136
 di Dio e di Maria, di sua vittoria,
 e con l' antico e col nuovo concilio
 colui che tien le chiavi di tal gloria. 139

19-21. Dante has seen in the seven planetary spheres the different classes and grades of blessedness representing the "many mansions." Now in the heaven of the stars he sees in varied groups the whole fruit of creation and history gathered together, as typifying the "one home." The "circling of these spheres" signifies the whole cosmic evolution, and the working of the spirit of God upon man. Cf. xiii. 52-66, note

30. See xx. 6, note.

37. Compare 1 *Corinthians* i. 24.

above us had its inner shore so distant that its appearance, there where I was, not yet appeared to me. The redeemed

Therefore mine eyes had not power to follow the crowned flame as she ascended after her own offspring.

And as the infant who toward his mother stretcheth up his arms when he hath had the milk, because his mind flameth forth even into outward gesture ;

so each one of these glowings up-stretched with its flame, so that the deep love which they had for Mary was made plain to me.

Then they stayed there within my sight, singing *O Queen of heaven* so sweetly that ne'er hath parted from me the delight.

O how great the wealth crammed in those most rich chests, which here on earth were goodly acres for the seeding ! The apostles

Here they have life and joy even in that treasure which was earned in weeping in the exile of Babylon, where gold was scorned.

Here triumphs under the lofty Son of God and Mary, in his victory, together with the ancient and new council, he who doth hold the keys of so great glory.

60. Another well-supported reading has a second *il* before *facea*. The meaning would then be, "and how bright the sacred aspect made it," *i.e.* 'the countenance of Christ, on which she had looked, made Beatrice's smile ineffably beauteous.'

108. The Emyrean.

112-114. The *primum mobile*.

134, 135. The Babylonian exile is a favourite symbol of the life upon Earth, wherein we are "strangers and pilgrims." Compare *Purg.* xiii. 94-96.

PARADISO

BEATRICE appeals to the saints in the starry heaven to give Dante to drink from the heavenly table to which they have been summoned. The divine grace which gives him a foretaste of their feast is their warrant, his immeasurable longing is his claim, and their unbroken enjoyment of that knowledge which he desires makes it easy for them to give (1-9). The saints respond joyously to her appeal and in groups of circling lights reveal their varying measures of ecstasy (10-18). Peter comes out from the brightest group in answer to Beatrice's prayer (19-33). She addresses him as the representative of that Faith by which he himself once walked upon the sea, and to which heaven owes all its citizens; and urges him to test Dante as to Faith (34-45). Dante prepares himself, as for examination, and Peter questions him (46-57). Dante founds his confession upon the definition in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Faith is the substance or foundation upon

Cielo Stellato	“ O sodalizio eletto alla gran cena del benedetto agnello, il qual vi ciba sì che la vostra voglia è sempre piena ; se per grazia di Dio questi preliba di quel che cade della vostra mensa, prima che morte tempo gli prescriba, ponete mente all' affezione immensa, e roratelo alquanto : voi bevete sempre del fonte onde vien quel ch' ei pensa.” Così Beatrice : e quelle anime liete si fero spere sopra fissi poli, fiammando forte a guisa di comete. E come cerchi in tempra d' oriuioli si giran sì che il primo, a chi pon mente, quieto pare, e l' ultimo che voli,	4 7 10 13
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CANTO XXIV

which hope is reared, and the basis of the argument by which the reality of unseen things is established (58-81). His own faith is unquestioning (82-87). It is based on Scripture (88-96) which is authenticated by miracle (97-102). And if one should question the miracles he must face the yet greater miracle of the spread of Christianity without miracle (103-114). Peter further demands to hear the positive content of Dante's faith and the specific warrant for it (115-123). Dante declares his faith in God, defined first in Aristotelian phrase as the unmoved mover whom the heaven loves and longs for, and then as three Persons in one Essence. For the first belief proofs are drawn from the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* as well as from Scripture, for the second from Scripture alone (124-144). All else is secondary (145-147). Peter signifies his delight in Dante's confession by circling him thrice (148-154).

“ O fellowship elect to the great supper of the The
 blessed Lamb, who feedeth you in such redeemed
 fashion that your desire ever is fulfilled ;
 if by the grace of God this man foretasteth of
 that which falleth from your table ere death
 prescribe the time to him,
 give heed to his unmeasured yearning and bedew
 him somewhat : ye drink ever of the fountain
 whence floweth that on which his thought is
 fixed.”

Thus Beatrice: and those glad souls made
 themselves spheres upon fixed poles, outflaming
 mightily like unto comets.

And even as wheels in harmony of clock-work
 so turn that the first, to whoso noteth it,
 seemeth still, and the last to fly,

- Cielo** così quelle carole differente- 15
Stellato mente danzando, della sua ricchezza
 mi si facean stimar, veloci e lente.
- Di quella ch' io notai di più bellezza 19
 vid' io uscire un foco sì felice,
 che nullo vi lasciò di più chiarezza ;
- e tre fiate intorno di Beatrice 22
 si volse con un canto tanto divo,
 che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice ;
- però salta la penna, e non lo scrivo, 25
 chè l' imagine nostra a cotai pieghe,
 non che il parlare, è troppo color vivo.
- “ O santa suora mia, che sì ne preghe 28
 devota, per lo tuo ardente affetto
 da quella bella spera mi disleghe.”
- Poscia, fermato il foco benedetto, 31
 alla mia donna dirizzò lo spiro,
 che favellò così, com' io ho detto.
- Ed ella : “ O luce eterna del gran viro, 34
 a cui nostro Signor lasciò le chiavi,
 ch' ei portò giù, di questo gaudio miro,
- tenta costui dei punti lievi e gravi, 37
 come ti piace, intorno della fede,
 per la qual tu su per lo mare andavi.
- S' egli ama bene, e bene spera, e crede, 40
 non t' è occulto, perchè il viso hai quivi,
 dov' ogni cosa dipinta si vede.
- Ma perchè questo regno ha fatto civi 43
 per la verace fede, a gloriarla,
 di lei parlare è buon ch' a lui arrivi.”
- Sì come il baccellier s' arma, e non parla, 46
 fin che il maestro la question propone,
 per approvarla, e non per terminarla ;

so did these carols with their differing whirl, ^{The} or swift or slow, make me deem of their ^{redeemed} riches.

From the one I noted of most beauty, I saw ^{Peter} issue a so blissful flame it left none there of greater brightness ;

and thrice round Beatrice did it sweep with so divine a song, my fantasy repeateth it not to me ;

wherefore my pen leapeth, and I write it not : for such folds our imagination, not only our speech, is too vivid colouring.

“ O holy sister mine, who thus dost pray to us devoutly, by thy glowing love thou dost loosen me from this fair sphere.”

The breath that thus discoursed, as I have written down, was turned unto my Lady by that blessed flame so soon as it had stayed.

And she : “ O light eternal of that great man to ^{Beatrice} whom our Lord gave up the keys he brought down of this wondrous joy,

test this man here on the points both light and grave, as it doth please thee, anent the faith whereby thou once didst walk upon the sea.

Whether he loveth well and well hopeth and believeth is not hidden from thee, for thou hast thy vision there where everything is seen depicted.

But since this realm hath made its citizens by the true faith, 'tis well that, for the glorifying of it, it should chance him to speak thereof.”

Even as the bachelor armeth himself and ^{Dante} speaketh not until the master setteth forth the question, to sanction it, but not determine it ;

- Cielo così m' armava io d' ogni ragione, 49
 Stellato mentre ch' ella dicea, per esser presto
 a tal querente ed a tal professione.
- “Di', buon Cristiano, fatti manifesto : 52
 fede che è?” Ond' io levai la fronte
 in quella luce onde spirava questo ;
- poi mi volsi a Beatrice, ed essa pronte 55
 sembianze femmi, perch' io spandessi
 l' acqua di fuor del mio interno fonte.
- “La grazia che mi dà ch' io mi confessi, 58
 comincia' io, dall' alto primipilo,
 faccia li miei concetti esser espressi.”
- E seguitai : “Come il verace stilo 61
 ne scrisse, padre, del tuo caro frate,
 che mise Roma teco nel buon filo,
- fede è sustanzia di cose sperate, 64
 ed argomento delle non parventi ;
 e questo pare a me sua quiditate.”
- Allora udii : “Dirittamente senti, 67
 se bene intendi, perchè la ripose
 tra le sustanzie, e poi tra gli argomenti.”
- Ed io appresso : “Le profonde cose, 70
 che mi largiscon qui la lor parvenza,
 agli occhi di laggiù son sì ascose,
- che l' esser loro v' è in sola credenza, 73
 sopra la qual si fonda l' alta spene,
 e però di sustanzia prende intenza ;
- e da questa credenza ci conviene 76
 sillogizzar, senza avere altra vista :
 però intenza di argomento tiene.”
- Allora udii : “Se quantunque s' acquista 79
 giù per dottrina fosse così inteso,
 non gli avria loco ingegno di sofista.”

so did I arm myself with every reason whilst she was speaking, that I might be ready for such examiner and such profession. The redeemed

“Good Christian, speak, and manifest thyself; what thing is faith?” Whereat I lifted up my brow upon that light whence breathed forth this word; Faith

then turned me to Beatrice, and she made eager indication to me that I should pour the water forth from my inward fountain.

“May the grace that granteth me to confess me,” I began, “to the veteran fore-fighter, make my thoughts find expression!”

And I followed on: “As wrote for us, O father, the veracious pen of thy dear brother, who, with thee, set Rome on the good track; faith is the substance of things hoped for, and argument of things which are not seen; and this I take to be its quidity.” Paul. Definition of faith

Then heard I: “Rightly dost thou deem, if well thou understandest wherefore he placed it amongst the substances, and then amongst the arguments.”

And I thereon: “The deep things which grant me here the largess to appear before me, are from the eyes of them below so hidden

that their existence is there only in belief, whereon is built the lofty hope; and so of *substance* it embraceth the intention;

and from this belief needs must we syllogise without further sight; therefore it includes the intention of *argument*.”

Then heard I: “If all that is acquired down below by teaching were so understood, there were no room left for the wit of sophist.”

- Cielo
Stellato
- Così spirò da quell' amore acceso ; 82
 indi soggiunse : “ Assai bene è trascorsa
 d' esta moneta già la lega e il peso ;
 ma dimmi se tu l' hai nella tua borsa.” 85
 Ond' io : “ Sì ho, sì lucida e sì tonda,
 che nel suo conio nulla mi s' inforsa.”
 Appresso uscì della luce profonda, 88
 che lì splendeva : “ Questa cara gioia,
 sopra la quale ogni virtù si fonda,
 onde ti venne ? ” Ed io : “ La larga ploia 91
 dello Spirito Santo, ch' è diffusa
 in sulle vecchie e in sulle nuove cuoia,
 è sillogismo, che la m' ha conchiusa 94
 acutamente sì che in verso d' ella
 ogni dimostrazion mi pare ottusa.”
 Io udii poi : “ L' antica e la novella 97
 proposizion che così ti conchiude,
 perchè l' hai tu per divina favella ? ”
 Ed io : “ La prova che il ver mi dischiude 100
 son l' opere seguite, a che natura
 non scaldò ferro mai, nè battè incude.”
 Risposto fummi : “ Di', chi t' assicura 103
 che quell' opere fosser ? Quel medesmo
 che vuol provarsi, non altri, il ti giura.”
 “ Se il mondo si rivolse al Cristianesimo, 106
 diss' io, senza miracoli, quest' uno
 è tal che gli altri non sono il centesimo ;
 chè tu entrasti povero e digiuno 109
 in campo, a seminar la buona pianta,
 che fu già vite, ed ora è fatta pruno.”
 Finito questo, l' alta corte santa 112
 risonò per le spere un *Dio laudamo*,
 nella melode che lassù si canta.

Thus was breathed forth from that enkindled love; then did it add: "Right well hath now been traversed this coin's alloy and weight; but tell me if thou hast it in thy purse." Whereupon I: "Yea, so bright and round I have it that for me is no *perhaps* in its impression." Then issued from the deep light that was glowing there: "This dear gem on which all virtue is up-built, whence came it to thee?" And I: "The ample shower of the Holy Spirit which is poured over the old and over the new parchments, is syllogism that hath brought it to so sharp conclusion for me, that, compared to it, all demonstration seemeth blunt to me." Then heard I: "That old and that new proposition which bringeth thee to such conclusion, wherefore dost hold it for divine discourse?" And I: "The proof which doth unfold the truth to me lieth in the works that followed, for which nature ne'er heated iron yet, nor hammered anvil." The answer came to me: "Say, who assureth thee that these works were? The very script that would attest itself, no other, sweareth it to thee." "If the world turned to Christianity, I said, without miracles, this one is such that the others are not the hundredth of it; for thou didst enter poor and hungry upon the battle-field to sow the good plant which was erst a vine, but now has grown a thorn." This ended, the high holy court made *God we praise* ring through the spheres, in melody such as up there is sung.

The
redeemed

The poet's
faith

Whence it
cometh

- Cielo
Stellato
- E quel Baron, che sì di ramo in ramo,
esaminando, già tratto m' avea
che all' ultime fronde appressavamo,
ricominciò : “ La grazia, che donnea
con la tua mente, la bocca t' aperse
infino a qui, com' aprir si dovea ;
sì ch' io approvo ciò che fuori emerse :
ma or conviene esprimer quel che credi,
ed onde alla credenza tua s' offerse.”
- “ O santo padre, spirito che vedi
ciò che credesti sì che tu vincesti
ver lo sepolcro i più giovani piedi,
comincia' io, tu vuoi ch' io manifesti
la forma qui del pronto creder mio,
ed anco la cagion di lui chiedesti ;
ed io rispondo : Io credo in uno Iddio
solo ed eterno, che tutto il ciel move,
non moto, con amore e con disio.
- Ed a tal creder non ho io pur prove
fisice e metafisice, ma dalmi
anco la verità che quinci piove
per Moisè, per Profeti e per Salmi,
per l' Evangelio, e per voi che scriveste,
poichè l' ardente Spirto vi fece almi.
- E credo in tre persone eterne, e queste
credo una essenza sì una e sì trina,
che soffera congiunto sono ed *este*.
- Della profonda condizion divina
ch' io tocco, nella mente mi sigilla
più volte l' evangelica dottrina.
- Quest' è il principio, quest' è la favilla
che si dilata in fiamma poi vivace,
e, come stella in cielo, in me scintilla.”
- 115
118
121
124
127
130
133
136
139
142
145

And that Baron who so from branch to branch, The
 examining, had drawn me now, that we were redeemed
 nigh unto the utmost leaves,

began again : " The grace which holdeth amorous
 converse with thy mind hath oped thy mouth
 till now as it behoved to open ;

so that I sanction that which forth emerged ; but The
 now behoveth thee to utter what it is thou dost content of
 believe, and whence it offered it to thy believing." faith

" O holy father, thou spirit who now seest that
 which of old thou didst so believe that thou
 didst overcome more youthful feet drawing
 anigh the sepulchre,"

I began, " thou wouldst have me here make plain
 the form of my eager belief, and dost also ask
 the cause of it ;

whereto I answer : I believe in one God, sole
 and eternal, who moveth all the heaven, him-
 self unmoved, with love and with desire.

And for such belief I have not only proofs Whence
 physic and metaphysic, but it is given me derived
 likewise by the truth which hence doth rain
 through Moses, through the Prophets and through
 the Psalms, through the Gospel and through
 you who wrote when the glowing Spirit had
 made you fosterers.

And I believe in three eternal Persons, and I
 believe them one Essence, so One and so Trine
 as to comport at once with *are* and *is*.

With the profound divine state whereof I speak,
 my mind is stamped more times than once by
 evangelic teaching.

This the beginning is ; this is the spark which
 then dilates into a living flame, and like a
 star in heaven shineth in me."

Cielo Come il signor, ch' ascolta quel che i piace, 148
 Stellato da indi abbraccia il servo, gratulando
 per la novella, tosto ch' ei si tace ;
 così, benedicendomi cantando, 151
 tre volte cinse me, sì com' io tacqui,
 l' apostolico lume, al cui comando
 io avea detto ; sì nel dir gli piacqui. 154

3. Contrast ii. 12.

16. *Carol*, in old English as in Italian, signifies a group of dancers.

27. Giotto's vivid colouring went with a love of large surfaces, whence his treatment of drapery, "cumbrous, from the exceeding simplicity of the terminal lines"; whereas the Byzantines, both in the earlier period of pale colouring and in the "solemn and deep" system of the later 12th and 13th centuries, used to "break up their draperies by a large number of minute folds." (After Ruskin.) Dante regards human speech and even human imagination as too aggressive and indiscriminating for the delicate folds of the pictures he fain would paint.

46-48. Graduation is a religious experience analogous to confirmation. Note the place of the authors of school text-books amongst the great religious teachers in xii. 134, 137. Lines 47 and 48 have been much discussed. The translation takes them as meaning that by propounding the question the master sanctions the discussion without determining the conclusion.

62. St. Paul; for the anonymous *Epistle to the Hebrews*, from which the definition is taken (xi. 1), was attributed to him. The Catholic Church has always maintained that faith is an *intellectual* virtue; hence the rationalistic colouring of this canto, from which the Protestant reader will miss much that comes under his conception of faith (based on the really Pauline Epistles to the *Galatians* and *Romans*), and which he will find elsewhere in the *Comedy*, but not here.

66. *Quidity*, see xx. 92, note.

69. The usual meaning of *substance* in the scholastic philosophy is something which exists in itself. (See

Like as the master who heareth what doth please The
redeemed
him, and thereupon embraceth the servant,
rejoicing at the news, so soon as he is silent ;
so, blessing me as it sang, three times circled
me, so soon as I was silent, the apostolic
light at whose command I had discoursed ;
so did I please him in my utterance.

iii. 29, *note*). Hence an objection to the definition in *Hebrews* noticed by Aquinas: "No quality is a substance; but faith is a quality. . . . therefore it is not a substance." Dante meets the difficulty by taking *substance* in its other sense, as that which "stands under."

75. *Intention*. A difficult word because of the variety of its technical uses. Compare *Purg.* xviii. 23. Here it is nearly equivalent to "meaning." Faith includes "what is meant by *substance*," and also "what is meant by *argument*."

98. *Proposition*, as applied to the O.T. and N.T., carries on the logical terminology of line 94.

125, 126. See *John* xx. 3-6. Dante has fallen into a confusion between "first entering" and "first approaching" the sepulchre.

131-134. Compare i. 1, 76, *notes*. See Wallace, § 39, 46.

138. *Made you fosterers*, i.e. 'made you the foster fathers of the faithful.' But the more usual rendering takes *almi* simply as "beautiful" or "holy."

144. The schoolmen found the scriptural references to the Trinity chiefly in the O.T., in the plural form of the Hebrew word for "God," in the use of the plural in *Gen.* i. 26; in the threefold cry in *Isaiah* vi. 3, &c. &c. The chief passages from the N.T. are the formula of baptism in *Matt.* xxviii. 19; the text of the three "heavenly witnesses" in 1 *John* v. 7 (Vulgate and A.V.); and the threefold formula in *Romans* xi. 36, after citing which, with some others, Petrus Lombardus adds: "but since almost every syllable of the New Testament agrees in suggesting this truth of the ineffable Unity and Trinity, let us dispense with gathering testimonies on this matter."

PARADISO

IT was the Faith that gained Dante the high privilege of the apostolic benediction. Therefore if his poem should ever melt the heart of the Florentines he will take the poet's crown at that same font whereat he was received into the Faith (1-12). St James now joins St Peter. When we read of the three chosen disciples to whom Jesus reveals more than to the others we are to take Peter as representing faith, James hope, and John love; and therefore Beatrice urges James to test Dante as to Hope (13-33). James questions him (34-48). Beatrice herself declares on his behalf that he possesses in fullest measure the virtue of hope, and that it is on that very ground that he has been allowed to anticipate death in his vision of divine things (49-57). As to the nature of Hope and its source he shall answer for himself (58-63). Dante defines hope with exclusive reference to the future life, and derives it from Scrip.

Cielo
Stellato

Se mai continga che il poema sacro,
al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
sì che m' ha fatto per più anni macro,
vinca la crudeltà, che fuor mi serra
del bello ovil, dov' io dormii agnello
nimico ai lupi, che gli danno guerra ;
con altra voce omai, con altro vello
ritornerò poeta, ed in sul fonte
del mio battesimo prenderò il cappello ;
però che nella Fede, che fa conte
l' anime a Dio, quivi entra' io, e poi
Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte.
Indi si mosse un lume verso noi
di quella spera, ond' uscì la primizia
che lasciò Cristo dei vicari suoi.

CANTO XXV

ture (64-78). James, whose own hope, which followed him even to death, is now swallowed up in victory, still loves the virtue he once practised, and demands to hear the content of Dante's hope, and its source (79-87). Dante declares that Isaiah and John tell him of the double garments of the blessed, and that this symbol indicates to him the resurrection of the body as well as the immortality of the soul as the substantive content of his hope (88-99). A light as bright as the sun now joins Peter and James, and is declared by Beatrice to be the Apostle John (100-117). Dante strains his sight to see John's body, but is blinded by the glory, and is told that his body is dust, and awaits the general resurrection; Jesus and Mary alone of human beings having arisen with their bodies to heaven (118-129). Then of a sudden the harmony is stilled, and the blinded Dante turns in vain to look upon Beatrice (130-139).

Should it e'er come to pass that the sacred poem The
redeemed
to which both heaven and earth so have set hand,
that it hath made me lean through many a year,
should overcome the cruelty which doth bar me
forth from the fair sheepfold wherein I used
to sleep, a lamb, foe to the wolves which war
upon it ;
with changed voice now, and with changed fleece Return to
Florence
shall I return, a poet, and at the font of my
baptism shall I assume the chaplet ;
because into the Faith which maketh souls known
of God, 'twas there I entered ; and afterward
Peter, for its sake, circled thus my brow.
Thereafter moved a light toward us from out
that sphere whence issued forth the first fruits
of his vicars left by Christ.

- Cielo E la mia donna piena di letizia 16
 Stellato mi disse : “ Mira, mira, ecco il Barone,
 per cui laggiù si visita Galizia.”
- Sì come quando il colombo si pone 19
 presso al compagno, e l' uno all' altro pande,
 girando e mormorando, l' affezione,
- così vid' io l' un dall' altro grande 22
 principe glorioso essere accolto,
 laudando il cibo che lassù li prande.
- Ma poi che il gratular si fu assolto, 25
 tacito *coram me* ciascun s' affisse,
 ignito sì che vinceva il mio volto.
- Ridendo allora Beatrice disse : 28
 “ Inclita vita, per cui la larghezza
 della nostra basilica si scrisse,
- fa risonar la speme in questa altezza ; 31
 tu sai, che tante volte la figuri,
 quanto Jesù ai tre fe' più chiarezza.”
- “ Leva la testa, e fa che t' assicuri ; 34
 chè ciò che vien quassù dal mortal mondo,
 convien ch' ai nostri raggi si maturi.”
- Questo conforto dal foco secondo 37
 mi venne ; ond' io levai gli occhi ai monti,
 che gl' incurvaron pria col troppo pondo.
- “ Poichè, per grazia, vuol che tu t' affronti 40
 lo nostro Imperadore, anzi la morte,
 nell' aula più segreta, co' suoi Conti ;
- sì che, veduto il ver di questa corte, 43
 la speme che laggiù bene innamora
 in te ed in altrui di ciò conforte :
- di' quel che ell' è, e come se ne infiora 46
 la mente tua, e di' onde a te venne ” ;
 così seguì 'l secondo lume ancora.

And my Lady, full of gladness, said to me, ^{The} redeemed
 “Look! look! behold the Baron for whose
 sake, down below, they seek Galicia.”

As when a dove taketh his place near his companion, and the one poureth out his love for the other, circling round and murmuring,
 so did I see one great chieftain glorious received ^{James and}
 by the other, praising the food which there ^{Peter}
 above doth feast them.

But when the greeting was fulfilled, silent before me each one fixed himself, so kindled it subdued my countenance.

Smiling then Beatrice said: “Illustrious life, by whom the generosity of our court was chronicled,

make hope be sounded in this height; thou knowest that all those times thou figurest it when Jesus gave more light unto the three.”

“Uplift thy head, and see thou reassure thee, ^{James}
 for whatso cometh from the mortal world up hither, behoves it ripen in our rays.”

Such exhortation from the second flame came to me; whereat I lifted up mine eyes unto the mountains, which had before down-bowed them with excess of weight.

“Since of his grace our Emperor willeth that ere thy death thou be confronted with his Counts in his most secret hall;

that, having seen the truth of this court, thou ^{Hope}
 mayst thereby strengthen in thyself and mo’ the hope that upon earth enamoureth folk of good;

say what thing it is, and how thy mind is therewith enflowered, and say whence unto thee it cometh”; so followed on the second light.

- Cielo
Stellato
- E quella pia, che guidò le penne
delle mie ali a così alto volo,
alla risposta così mi prevenne : 49
- “ La Chiesa militante alcun figliuolo 52
non ha con più speranza, com' è scritto
nel sol che raggia tutto nostro stuolo ;
però gli è concesso che d' Egitto 55
venga in Jerusalemme per vedere,
anzi che il militar gli sia prescritto.
- Gli altri due punti, che, non per sapere 58
son domandati, ma perchè rapporti
quanto questa virtù t' è in piacere,
a lui lasc' io ; chè non gli saran forti, 61
nè di iattanza : ed egli a ciò risponda,
e la grazia di Dio ciò gli comporti.”
- Come discente ch' a dottor seconda, 64
pronto e libente, in quello ch' egli è sperto,
perchè la sua bontà si disasconda :
- “ Speme, diss' io, è uno attender certo 67
della gloria futura, il qual produce
grazia divina e precedente merto.
- Da molte stelle mi vien questa luce ; 70
ma quei la distillò nel mio cor pria,
che fu sommo cantor del sommo duce.
- Sperino in te*, nella sua teodia 73
dice, color che sanno il nome tuo :
e chi nol sa, s' egli ha la fede mia ?
- Tu mi stillasti con lo stillar suo 76
nell' epistola poi, sì ch' io son pieno,
ed in altrui vostra pioggia repluo.”
- Mentr' io diceva, dentro al vivo seno 79
di quello incendio tremolava un lampo
subito e spesso, a guisa di baleno.

And that tender one who guided the feathers of ^{The} my wings to so lofty flight, thus foreran me in ^{redeemed,} answer : ^{Beatrice}

“ Church militant hath not a child richer in hope, as is written in the sun who o’errayeth all our host ;

therefore was it granted him to come from Egypt to Jerusalem, to look on her, e’er the prescribed limit of his soldiery.

Those two other points—asked not that thou mayst learn, but that he may bear back word how much this virtue is held in pleasure by thee,—to him I leave ; for they will not be hard, nor boastful matter, to him ; so let him thereto answer, and may the grace of God concede this to him.”

As the pupil who followeth the teacher, eager and glad, in that wherein he is expert, in order that his excellence may be revealed ;

“ Hope,” said I, “ is a certain expectation of ^{Hope} future glory, the product of divine grace and ^{defined} precedent merit.

From many stars cometh this light to me ; but he first distilled it into my heart who was the supreme singer of the supreme leader.

Let them hope in thee, in his divine song he saith, ^{Whence} *who know thy name* ; and who knoweth it not, ^{derived} having my faith ?

Thou then didst drop it on me with his dropping, in thine Epistle, so that I am full and pour again your shower upon others.”

Whilst I was speaking, within the living bosom of that flame trembled a flash sudden and dense like unto lightning.

- Cielo
Stellato
- Indi spirò: “L’ amore ond’ io avvampo 82
 ancor ver la virtù, che mi seguette
 infin la palma, ed all’ uscir del campo,
 vuol ch’ io respiri a te, che ti dilette 85
 di lei; ed emmi a grato che tu diche
 quello che la speranza ti promette.”
- Ed io: “Le nuove e le scritture antiche 88
 pongono il segno, ed esso lo mi addita.
 Dell’ anime che Dio s’ ha fatte amiche
- Dice Isaia che ciascuna vestita 91
 nella sua terra fia di doppia veta,
 e la sua terra è questa dolce vita.
- E il tuo fratello assai vie più digesta, 94
 là dove tratta delle bianche stole,
 questa rivelazion ci manifesta.”
- E prima, appresso al fin d’ este parole, 97
Sperant in te, di sopra noi s’ udì,
 a che risposer tutte le carole;
- poscia tra esse un lume si schiarì, 10
 sì che, se il Cancro avesse un tal cristallo,
 l’ inverno avrebbe un mese d’ un sol dì.
- E come surge, e va, ed entra in ballo 103
 vergine lieta, sol per fare onore
 alla novizia, e non per alcun fallo,
- così vid’ io lo schiarato splendore 106
 venire ai due, che si volgeano a rota,
 qual conveniasi al loro ardente amore.
- Misesi lì nel canto e nella nota; 109
 e la mia donna in lor tenne l’ aspetto,
 pur come sposa, tacita ed immota.
- “Questi è colui che giacque sopra il petto 112
 del nostro Pellicano, e questi fue
 d’ in su la croce al grande officio eletto.”

Then breathed forth : "The love whence I am still a-flame to-ward that virtue which followed me even to the palm and issuing from the field, willeth that I breathe on thee who dost delight thee in her ; and further, 'tis my pleasure that thou tell the thing which hope doth promise thee."

The
redeemed

And I : "The new and the ancient scriptures set down the symbol, which again doth point me to the thing itself. Of the souls which God hath made his friends

Content of
hope

Whence
derived

Isaiah saith that each one shall be clad with double garb in its own land, and its own land is this sweet life.

And more worked out by far, doth thy brother, where he treateth of the white robes, set forth this revelation to us."

And, close upon the ending of these words, first rang above us, *Let them hope in thee*, whereunto all the carols answered ;

then, from amongst themselves, a light flashed out, in fashion such that if the Crab contained a crystal like it winter would have a month of one unbroken day.

John

And as doth rise and go her way and enter on the dance a joyous virgin, only to do honour to the bride, and not for any failing, so did I see the illumined splendour join the other two, who were wheeling round in such guise as their burning love befitted.

There it launched itself into their music and their words ; and my Lady held her look upon them just like a bride, silent and unmoving.

"This is he who lay upon the breast of our Pelican, and this was he chosen from upon the cross for the great office."

- Cielo
Stellato
- La donna mia così ; nè però piùè 115
 mosse la vista sua di stare attenta
 poscia, che prima, alle parole sue.
- Quale è colui ch' adocchia, e s' argomenta 118
 di vedere eclissar lo sole un poco,
 che per veder non vedente diventa ;
- tal mi fec' io a quell' ultimo foco, 121
 mentre che detto fu : " Perchè t' abbagli
 per veder cosa, che qui non ha loco ?
- In terra è terra il mio corpo, e saragli 124
 tanto con gli altri che il numero nostro
 con l' eterno proposito s' agguagli.
- Con le due stole nel beato chiostro 127
 son le due luci sole che saliro ;
 e questo apporterai nel mondo vostro."
- A questa voce l' infiammato giro 130
 si quietò con esso il dolce mischio,
 che si facea del suon del trino spiro,
- ai come, per cessar fatica o rischio, 133
 li remi, pria nell' acqua ripercossi,
 tutti si posan al sonar d' un fischio.
- Ahi quanto nella mente mi commossi, 136
 quando mi volsi per veder Beatrice,
 per non poter vedere, ben ch' io fossi
 presso di lei, e nel mondo felice ! 139

1-9. Compare *Ecloga*, i. 42-44, and the *Ecloga responsiva* of Johannes del Virgilio, 44-46, and Gardner, iii. 5.

7. *Fleece* ; keeping up the metaphor of the lamb and the sheepfold.

14, 15. Peter.

18. James, of the "Peter, James and John," referred to in the Gospels, is James son of Zebedee, and is identified with the James said, by tradition, to have

My Lady thus; but no more after than before her ^{The} words moved she her eyes from their fixed ^{redeemed} intent.

As who doth gaze and strain to see the sun eclipsed a space, who by looking grows bereft of sight;

so did I to this last flame till a word came:
 "Wherefore dost dazzle thee to see that which hath here no place?"

Earth in the earth my body is, and there it shall be, with the rest, until our number equalleth the eternal purpose.

With the two robes in the blessed cloister are ^{Christ and} the two lights alone which rose; and this ^{Mary} thou shalt take back into your world."

At this voice the flamed circle stilled itself, together with the sweet interlacing made by the sound of the threefold breath,

as, to avert or weariness or peril, the oars till now smitten upon the water, all pause at a whistle's sound.

Ah! how was I stirred in my mind, turning to look on Beatrice, for that I might not see her, albeit I was nigh to her and in the world of bliss!

preached the Gospel in Spain, whose most celebrated shrine was at Compostella in Galicia. Compare *Vita Nuova*, xli. 46-50. But the James associated with Peter and John as a "pillar" of the Church in *Gal.* ii. 9 is "James the Lord's brother" (*Gal.* i. 19) mentioned in *Acts* xv. 13 and elsewhere. It is to him, and not to the son of Zebedee that the *Epistle of James* has usually been assigned. But Dante forgets or ignores the distinction.

29, 30. *James* i. 5.

33. *i.e.* admitted Peter, James and John to more intimate knowledge and familiarity than was extended to the other disciples. Compare *Conv.* ii. 1: 42-51. The occasions specially referred to are the Transfiguration, the raising of the daughter of Jairus, and the agony at Gethsemane.

55-57. The Exodus from Egypt had a manifold significance. Amongst other things it was the symbol of the liberation of the soul from the bondage of the flesh; as the entry into the Promised Land and the City of God was the symbol of the heavenly life. Compare *Purg.* ii. 46. *Epist. ad Can. Grand.* 133-161 (§ 7), especially 152-155, and the cruder statement in *Conv.* ii. 1: 14-65.

58-60. *Cf.* xvii. 10-12, xxiv. 40-42.

67-69. It is to be noted that the theological virtue of *Hope*, as understood by the Catholic Church, is not a general hopefulness of disposition, but the specific hope of the bliss of heaven. Dante's definition is closely copied from Peter Lombard's "Hope is the certain expectation of future bliss, coming from the grace of God and from preceding merits."

73. *Psalm* ix. 10. In the *Vulgate*, ix. 11, where the reading is *sperent* = "let them hope."

76, 77. *James* i. 12. "With his dropping" = 'in combination with his (David's) teaching.'

84. Martyrdom and death.

88-96. '*Isaiah* (lxi. 7, 10), in describing the gathering of the redeemed, declares that they shall *possess double things*, to wit *robes*, as your brother-apostle John in describing the same scene (*Revelation*, vii. 9), makes yet clearer. Scripture tells us, then, in symbolical language, that we shall have *two robes*, and this symbol, in its turn,

assures me that we shall have joy of *body* as well as joy of *soul*. 'The content of my hope, then, is the unbroken immortality of the soul and the resurrection to immortality of the body.' (Compare xiv. 61-66, *note*). The fanciful and indirect character of this scriptural support for the belief in the resurrection of the body is the more remarkable when we consider that 1 *Cor.* xv. would have furnished Dante with a perfectly explicit statement. Thomas Aquinas, as one would expect, makes frequent use of this chapter.

100-102. 'The light was as bright as the sun, so that if it had been in the Crab during the month of mid-winter (parts of December and January) when the sun is in the opposite sign of Capricorn, one or the other always being above the horizon, there would be no night.'

105. Not *performing* with any self-conscious desire for admiration, but simply throwing herself into the festivities in honour of the bride.

112-114. The pelican, supposed to feed her young with her own blood, is a frequent symbol of Christ. Further, see *John* xiii. 23: xix. 25-27.

118-126. Compare *John* xxi. 22, 23.

127-129. Christ and the Virgin (compare xxiii. 85-87: 106-126) alone ascended to heaven with the two robes (*i.e.* in the body as well as the spirit). Note that, according to the conception prevalent in the Middle Ages, Enoch and Elijah, who were also taken up bodily from the earth, were not in heaven, but in the Earthly Paradise. Perhaps the present passage may be taken as indirect evidence that Dante too accepted the tradition.

PARADISO

THE Apostle John reassures Dante as to his lost sight, which Beatrice will restore to him as Ananias restored his to Paul ; and invites him to discourse meanwhile of Love ; and first to tell him what is the supreme object on which his soul's affection is fixed (1-12). Dante, resignedly awaiting Beatrice's succour, declares that he is still burning in that same flame which she brought into his heart, and that God is the beginning and end of that and of all his other loves (13-18). Moved by the Apostle to declare more at large the justification of his love Dante answers that, since good as good must be loved, to know God is of necessity to love him, and goes on to declare how Aristotle and the Scriptures have made this truth level to his capacity (19-45). When questioned as to other reasons for loving God Dante perceives that he is expected to supplement his account of the supreme love of God, as good *in himself*, by a statement of the accessory gratitude to God as good *to us*, and enumerates the creation of the

Cielo
Stellato Mentr' io dubbiava per lo viso spento,
 della fulgida fiamma che lo spense
 uscì un spiro che mi fece attento,
 dicendo : " In tanto che tu ti risense
 della vista che hai in me consunta,
 ben è che ragionando la compense.
Comincia dunque, e di' ove s' appunta
 l' anima tua, e fa ragion che sia
 la vista in te smarrita e non defunta ;
perchè la donna, che per questa dia
 region ti conduce, ha nello sguardo
 la virtù ch' ebbe la man d' Anania."

CANTO XXVI

world, his own creation, the redemption and the hope of heaven. He adds that all creatures share his love in proportion as they share the good which is supreme in the creator (46-66). A hymn of praise is raised, and Dante's sight is restored to him; whereon he is bewildered by Beatrice's greater beauty and then by the presence of a fourth flame, wherein he learns the soul of Adam to abide (67-84). Overwhelmed at first, then moved to eagerness that will not brook delay, by finding himself face to face with the human being who has had such unique experience and who holds the answer to questions that have so long tantalised the world, Dante reads the answering affection of the first father in the swaying undulations of the light that clothes him and receives the answer to his unspoken questions, as to chronology, the language of Eden, the length of the period of innocence and the nature of the sin that cost the world so dear (85-142).

Whilst I was in suspense concerning my quenched sight, I was made heedful by a breath that issued from the glowing flame which quenched it, saying: "Until thou hast again the sense of sight thou hast consumed on me, 'tis well thou compensate it by discourse. The redeemed
Begin then, and declare whereon thy mind is focussed; and assure thee that thy sight within thee is confounded, not destroyed;
because the lady who through this divine region doth conduct thee hath in her look the power that was in Ananias' hand."

- Cielo
Stellato
- Io dissi: "Al suo piacere e tosto e tardo 13
vegna rimedio agli occhi, che fur porte,
quand' ella entrò col foco ond' io sempr' ardo.
Lo ben, che fa contenta questa corte, 16
Alfa ed Omega è di quanta scrittura
mi legge Amore, o lievemente o forte."
Quella medesima voce, che paura 19
tolta m' avea del subito abbarbaglio
di ragionare ancor mi mise in cura;
e disse: "Certo a più angusto vaglio 22
ti conviene schiarar; dicer convienti
che drizzò l' arco tuo a tal berzaglio."
Ed io: "Per filosofici argomenti, 25
e per autorità che quinci scende,
cotale amor convien che in me s' imprenti;
chè il bene, in quanto ben, come s' intende, 28
così accende amore, e tanto maggio,
quanto più di bontate in sè comprende.
Dunque all' essenza, ov' è tanto avvantaggio, 31
che ciascun ben che fuor di lei si trova
altro non è ch' un lume di suo raggio,
più che in altra convien che si mova 34
la mente, amando, di ciascun che cerne
lo vero, in che si fonda questa prova.
Tal vero allo intelletto mio sterne 37
colui che mi dimostra il primo amore
di tutte le sustanzie sempiterne.
Sternel la voce del verace autore, 40
che dice a Moisè, di sè parlando:
Io ti farò vedere ogni valore.
Sternilmi tu ancora, cominciando 43
l' alto preconio, che grida l' arcano
di qui laggiù sopra ogni altro bando."

I said : "At her good pleasure, soon or late, let succour come to the eyes which were the gates when she did enter with the fire where-with I ever burn. The redeemed

The good which satisfieth this court is Alpha and Omega of all the scripture which love readeth to me with light or heavy stress." God the object of all love

That same voice which had removed my terror at the sudden dazzlement, set my concern again upon discourse,

and said : "Yea, through a closer sieve thou needs must strain ; needs must thou tell me what it was that aimed thy bow at such a targe."

And I : "By philosophic arguments and by authority which down-cometh hence, such love must needs stamp itself on me ; Why loved primarily

for good, as good, so far as understood, kindleth love, and so much more by how much more of excellence it graspeth in itself.

Therefore to the Essence which hath such privilege that whatsoever good be found outside of it is nought else save a light of its own ray, more than to any other must the mind needs move, in love, of whoso doth discern the truth whereon this proof is founded.

And this same truth is made level to my intellect by him who doth reveal to me the primal love of all the eternal beings.

It is made level to me by the voice of that veracious author who saith to Moses, speaking of himself : *I will cause thee to see all worth.*

It is made level to me by thee also, where thou openest the lofty proclamation which doth herald upon earth the secrets of this place above all other declaration."

Cielo Ed io udi' : " Per intelletto umano, 46
 Stellato e per autoritadi a lui concorde,
 de' tuoi amori a Dio guarda il soprano.
 Ma di' ancor, se tu senti altre corde 49
 tirarti verso lui, sì che tu suone
 con quanti denti questo amor ti morde."
 Non fu latente la santa intenzione 52
 dell' aquila di Cristo, anzi m' accorsi
 dove volea menar mia professione.
 Però ricominciai : " Tutti quei morsi, 55
 che posson far lo cor volger a Dio,
 alla mia caritate son concorsi ;
 chè l' essere del mondo, e l' esser mio, 58
 la morte ch' ei sostenne perch' io viva,
 e quel che spera ogni fedel, com' io,
 con la predetta conoscenza viva, 61
 tratto m' hanno del mar dell' amor torto,
 e del diritto m' han posto alla riva.
 Le fronde, onde s' infronda tutto l' orto 64
 dell' ortolano eterno, am'io cotanto,
 quanto da lui a lor di bene è porto."
 Sì com' io tacqui, un dolcissimo canto 67
 risonò per lo cielo, e la mia donna
 dicea con gli altri : " Santo, Santo, Santo ! "
 E come a lume acuto si dissonna 70
 per lo spirto visivo che ricorre
 allo splendor che va di gonna in gonna,
 e lo svegliato ciò che vede abborre, 73
 sì nescia è la sua subita vigilia,
 fin che l' estimativa nol soccorre ;
 così degli occhi miei ogni quisquilia 76
 fugò Beatrice col raggio de' suoi,
 che rifulgean da più di mille milia ;

And I heard : "As urged by human intellect ^{The} and by authorities concordant with it, of thy ^{redeemed} loves keep for God the sovereign one.

But tell me yet if thou feel other cords draw thee to-wards him, so that thou utter forth with how many teeth this love doth grip thee."

Not hidden was the sacred purpose of Christ's eagle, but rather I perceived whither he willed to lead on my profession.

Wherefore I began again : "All those tooth-grips which have power to make the heart turn unto God co-work upon my love ;

for the being of the world and my own being, ^{Secondary} the death that he sustained that I might live, ^{causes of} and that which each believer hopeth, as do I, ^{love} together with the aforesaid living consciousness, have drawn me from the sea of the perverted and placed me on the shore of the right love.

The leaves wherewith all the garden of the eternal Gardener is leafed, I love in measure of the good that hath been proffered to them from him."

Soon as I held my peace a sweetest song rang through the Heaven, and my Lady with the rest cried : "Holy, Holy, Holy !"

And as at a keen light one wakeneth from slumber ^{Sight} by reason of the visual spirit which runneth to ^{recovered} meet the glow that pierceth tunic after tunic, and he thus awakened confoundeth what he seeth, so undiscerning is his sudden vigil until reflection cometh to its succour ;

so from mine eyes did Beatrice dissipate every scale with the ray of hers that might cast their glow more than a thousand miles ;

- Cielo onde, me' che dinanzi, vidi poi, 79
 Stellato e quasi stupefatto domandai
 d'un quarto lume, ch' io vidi con noi.
 E la mia donna : " Dentro da que' rai 82
 vagheggia il suo fattor l' anima prima,
 che la prima virtù creasse mai."
 Come la fronda, che flette la cima 85
 nel transito del vento, e poi si leva
 per la propria virtù che la sublima,
 fec' io in tanto in quanto ella diceva, 88
 stupendo ; e poi mi rifece sicuro
 un disio di parlare, ond' io ardeva ;
 e cominciai : " O pomo, che maturo 91
 solo prodotto fosti, o padre antico,
 a cui ciascuna sposa è figlia e nuro ;
 devoto, quanto posso, a te supplico 94
 perchè mi parli : tu vedi mia voglia,
 e, per udirti tosto, non la dico."
 Tal volta un animal coperto broglia 97
 sì che l' affetto convien che si paia
 per lo seguir che face a lui l' invoglia ;
 e similmente l' anima primaia 100
 mi facea trasparer per la coperta
 quant' ella a compiacermi venia gaia.
 Indi spirò : " Senz' essermi profferta 103
 da te, la voglia tua discerno meglio
 che tu qualunque cosa t' è più certa ;
 perch' io la veggio nel verace specchio 106
 che fa di sè pareggio all' altre cose,
 e nulla face lui di sè pareggio.
 Tu vuoi saper quant' è che Dio mi pose 109
 nell' eccelso giardino, ove costei
 a così lunga scala ti dispose,

whence better than before I saw thereafter, and The
 as one stupified, made question as to a fourth redeemed
 light which I perceived with us.

And my Lady: "Within those rays holdeth Adam
 amorous converse with its maker the first
 soul that the first Power e'er created."

As the spray which bendeth down its head as
 the wind passeth over, and doth then uplift
 itself by its own power which doth raise it up,
 did I, whilst she was speaking, all bemazed; and
 then was reassured by a desire to speak, where-
 with I was a-burning;

and I began: "O fruit, who wast alone pro- Dante's
 duced mature, O ancient father who hast both silent
 daughter and daughter-in-law in every bride; questioning
 devoutly as I may do I implore thee that thou
 speak to me; thou seest my will, and to hear
 thee the sooner I not utter it."

Sometimes an animal swayeth beneath a covering
 so that its impulse must needs be apparent, since
 what envelopeth it followeth its movements;
 and in like manner that first soul made appear
 through its covering with what elation it
 advanced to do me pleasure.

And from it breathed: "Though not set forth Adam's
 to me by thee, I better do discern thy will than reply
 thou the thing which is most certain to thee,
 because I see it in the veracious Mirror which
 doth make himself reflector of all other things,
 and nought doth make itself reflector unto him.

Thou wouldst know how long the time since
 God placed me in the uplifted garden wherein
 she there prepared thee for so long a stair,

- Cielo e** quanto fu diletto agli occhi miei, 112
Stellato e la propria cagion del gran disdegno,
 e l' idioma ch' usai e ch' io fei.
- Or, figliuol mio, non il gustar del legno 115
 fu per sè la cagion di tanto esilio,
 ma solamente il trapassar del segno.
- Quindi, onde mosse tua donna Virgilio, 118
 quattromila trecento e due volumi
 di sol desiderai questo concilio ;
- e vidi lui tornare a tutti i lumi 121
 della sua strada novecento trenta
 fiate, mentre ch' io in terra fu' mi.
- La lingua ch' io parlai fu tutta spenta 124
 innanzi assai ch' all' opra inconsumabile
 fosse la gente di Nembrot attenta ;
- chè nullo effetto mai razionabile, 127
 per lo piacere uman, che rinnovella,
 seguendo il cielo, sempre fu durabile.
- Opera naturale è ch' uom favella ; 130
 ma, così o così, natura lascia
 poi fare a voi secondo che v' abbellà.
- Pria ch' io scendessi all' infernale ambascia, 133
 J s' appellava in terra il sommo bene,
 onde vien la letizia che mi fascia ;
- El* si chiamò da poi, e ciò conviene, 136
 chè l' uso de' mortali è come fronda
 in ramo, che sen va ed altra viene.
- Nel monte, che si leva più dall' onda, 139
 fu' io, con vita pura, e disonesta,
 dalla prim' ora a quella che seconda,
 come il sol muta quadra, l' ora sesta." 142

12. *Acts ix. 10-18.*

28-30. Compare xxviii. 106-111, as well as xiv. 40-49, and other passages, and see note on 37-39.

and how long the delight endured unto my eyes, and the true cause of the great indignation, and the idiom which I used and which myself composed. The redeemed

Now know, my son, that not the tasting of the tree was in itself the cause of so great exile, but only the transgressing of the mark.

From that place whence thy Lady dispatched Virgil, four thousand three hundred and two revolutions of the sun went out my longing for this gathering ; Chronology

and I beheld him course through all the lights of his path nine hundred times and thirty whilst I abode on earth.

The tongue I spoke was all quenched long ere the work that ne'er might be completed was undertaken by the folk of Nimrod ;

for never yet did product of the reason maintain itself for ever, because of human preference which doth change in sequence with the heaven.

That man should speak is nature's doing ; but thus or thus nature permitteth to you as best seemeth you.

Ere I descended to the infernal anguish, *J* was the name on earth of that supreme good whence cometh the gladness that doth swathe me ; Divine names

El was he called thereafter ; and this is fitting, for the use of mortals is as the leaf upon the branch which goeth and another followeth.

On the mount which most doth rise from out the wave was I, with life pure and disgraced, from the first hour to that which followeth, when the sun changeth quadrant, next on the sixth hour."

34-36. 'Whosoever perceives that God is the supreme good (the truth on which rests the proof

that he is the supreme object of love) cannot fail to love him supremely.'

37-39. This is clearly *Aristotle*, who teaches that God is the supreme object towards whom the heavens yearn (Wallace, 39 and 46, as above). The extension of this idea from the heavens to the Angels or Deities is not remote from Aristotle's spirit, and is entirely germane to Dante's conception of it. (Compare *Conv.* ii. 5: and also *Parad.* ii. 139-144, *note.*) The principle of lines 28-30 underlies all Aristotle's philosophy; but perhaps Dante had specially in mind the passage in the *Metaphysics* where Aristotle says that what moves other things, though itself unmoved, is "the object of longing" or "the object of intellectual apprehension;" and adds that "the principles of these two are identical." Albertus, (with whom Thomas substantially agrees) interprets them as meaning *appetibile bonum* and *intelligibile bonum*, 'that which asserts itself as good to our desire' and 'that which asserts itself as good to our intellect.' He goes on to explain that the former may be delusive and may be resisted, but the latter "provoketh our longing without let and without intermediary; because there is no need that it should first announce itself as good through the sense in order to stir the appetite; nor is there any clog to it on the part of the receiving intellect, since the thing loved is good in itself and . . . winneth the undivided longing of him upon whom it is poured."

42. *Exodus* xxxiii. 19. The *Vulgate* reads, "*ego ostendam omne bonum tibi.*"

43-45. Probably the reference is to *Rev.* i. 8. Others understand 1 *John* iv. 16; but it seems impossible to take these three lines as anything but an express description of the *Apocalypse*.

53. *Christ's eagle*. Compare *Rev.* iv. 7. See also *Purg.* xxix. 88-105.

72. The various coats of the eye.

106-108. Both the construing and the interpretation of this passage have given rise to much dispute. The translation here given takes it to mean that everything is perfectly reflected in God, and therefore he who looks on God sees everything perfectly. But no single thing and no single truth (nor even the sum of them all, compare xix. 40-45) is a com-

plete and perfect reflection of God. Therefore he who sees anything, or everything, apart from God, cannot see it in its completeness. Hence he who looks on God sees the most secret and complex thing more perfectly than he can grasp even the most axiomatic truth in detachment. Compare xxxiii. 100-105: also ii. 43-45: vi. 19-21.

110, 111. The Earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden, where Beatrice met Dante.

115-117. Speculations were frequent as to whether the eating of the fruit was to be taken literally, or whether it was a mere veil under which some more heinous offence was really indicated. These lines are intended to brush aside such speculations, and to explain that no breach of a direct command of God can be regarded as trivial. Compare Anselm: "Wert thou to find thyself in the presence of God, and were one to say to thee, *Look this way*, and God counterwise, *I would by no means have thee look that way*, search thou in thy heart what there is amongst all things that are, for which thou shouldst cast that glance, counter to the will of God." Anselm's interlocutor declares that he would not do it to save the whole creation, no, nor to save many creations, did such exist.

118. Limbo. Compare *Inf.* ii. and iv. 43-63, especially 55.

124-126. Contrast *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 6: 38-61.

128, 129. *i.e.* Human pleasure, choice, or preference, varies under the changing influence of the heavenly bodies.

134. To be pronounced *jah*. Compare *Psalms* lxviii. 4. (*Psalms* lxvii. 5, in the Vulgate, which reads *Dominus nomen illi*. But Jerome had noted the Hebrew reading here and elsewhere, and had passed the name *Jah* into the current of Christian tradition.) There are many proper names and some other words compounded with the divine name in this form, such as *Hallelujah*.

136. *El*, signifying "the Mighty," is, according to Hebrew lexicographers "the most ancient and general name" for Deity. It frequently occurs in various books of the Bible. But the more common designation is *Elohim*, probably not to be connected etymologically with *El*.

139-142. The life in Paradise, therefore, only endured six hours, or something over.

PARADISO

THE poet's ear and eye drink for a space of the glory of Paradise (1-9) and afterwards, amid deep silence, first the light of Peter glows red with indignation as he denounces the doings of Pope Boniface VIII. (10-27); then all heaven is suffused with the same glow and Beatrice's cheek flushes as at a tale of shame, while Peter pursues his denunciation, including Clement the Gascon and John of Cahors in its sweep; and then promises redress and bids Dante bear the news to earth (28-66). The triumphant spirits, like flashes of flame, rain upwards into the higher heaven, and Beatrice bids Dante look down upon the earth (67-78). Dante is in Gemini and the Sun in Aries, with Taurus between, and therefore the half of the earth illuminated by the sun does not correspond with the half that the Seer commands. He sees the earth as we see the moon when she is past the full. The illuminated portion stretches from far west of Gibraltar to the shore of the Levant; and the

Cielo “ Al Padre, al Figlio, allo Spirito Santo ”
Stellato cominciò “ Gloria ” tutto il Paradiso,
sì che m’ inebbriava il dolce canto.

Ciò ch' io vedeva, mi sembrava un riso
dell' universo ; per che mia ebbrezza
entrava per l' udire e per lo viso.

O gioia ! o ineffabile allegrezza !
o vita intera d' amore e di pace !
o senza brama sicura ricchezza !

Dinanzi agli occhi miei le quattro face
stavano accese, e quella che pria venne
incominciò a farsi più vivace ;

e tal nella sembianza sua divenne,
qual diverrebbe Giove, se' egli e Marte
fossero augelli, e cambiassersi penne.

CANTO XXVII

darkened portion stretches further east (79-87). Turning back with renewed longing to Beatrice Dante sees her yet more beautiful and rises with her to the *Primum Mobile* (88-99). Beatrice expounds to him how time and space take their source and measure from this sphere, and have no relevancy to aught that lies beyond it. It is girt (how, God only understandeth) not by space but by the Divine light and love (100-120). Then, with deep yearning, Beatrice turns her thoughts back to the besotted world wherein faith and innocence find refuge only in the hearts and lives of infants, and where humanity blackens from its birth (121-138) And all this not because of any inherent degeneracy but because there is none to rule. But ere the hundredth of a day by which the Julian exceeds the Solar year shall by its accumulations have made January cease to be a Winter month! the course shall be reversed (139-148).

All Paradise took up the strain, "To the Father, ^{The} to the Son, to the Holy Spirit, glory!" so ^{redeemed} that the sweet song intoxicated me.

Meseemed I was beholding a smile of the universe; wherefore my intoxication entered both by hearing and by sight.

O joy! O gladness unspeakable! O life compact of love and peace! O wealth secure that hath no longing!

Before mine eyes the four torches stood enkindled, and the one which had first approached me began to grow more living; and such became in semblance as would Jupiter if he and Mars were birds and should exchange their plumage.

Cielo	La provvidenza, che quivi comparte	16
Stellato	vice ed officio, nel beato coro	
	silenzio posto avea da ogni parte,	
	quando io udi': "Se io mi trascoloro,	19
	non ti maravigliar; chè, dicend' io,	
	vedrai trascolorar tutti costoro.	
	Quegli ch' usurpa in terra il loco mio,	22
	il loco mio, il loco mio che vaca	
	nella presenza del figliuol di Dio,	
	fatto ha del cimitero mio cloaca	25
	del sangue e della puzza, onde il perverso,	
	che cadde di quassù, laggiù si placa."	
	Di quel color, che per lo sole avverso	28
	nube dipinge da sera e da mane,	
	vid' io allora tutto il ciel cosperso :	
	e, come donna onesta, che permane	31
	di sè sicura, e, per l' altrui fallanza,	
	pure ascoltando, timida si fane,	
	così Beatrice trasmutò sembianza ;	34
	e tal eclissi credo che in ciel fue,	
	quando patì la suprema possanza.	
	Poi procedetter le parole sue	37
	con voce tanto da sè trasmutata,	
	che la sembianza non si mutò pìde :	
	"Non fu la sposa di Cristo allevata	40
	del sangue mio, di Lin, di quel di Cleto,	
	per essere ad acquisto d' oro usata ;	
	ma per acquisto d' esto viver lieto	43
	e Sisto e Pio e Calisto ed Urbano	
	sparser lo sangue dopo molto fletto.	
	Non fu nostra intenzion ch' a destra mano	46
	dei nostri successor parte sedesse,	
	parte dall' altra, del popol Cristiano ;	

The providence which there assigneth function
 and office had imposed silence on the blessed ^{The redeemed.}
 choir on every side, ^{Peter}

when I heard : " If I transform my hue, marvel
 thou not ; for, as I speak, thou shalt see all
 of these transform it too.

He who usurpeth upon earth my place, my place,
 my place, which in the presence of the Son of
 God is vacant,

hath made my burial-ground a conduit for that
 blood and filth, whereby the apostate one who fell
 from here above, is soothed down there below."

With that colour which painteth a cloud at even ^{Wrath in}
 or at morn by the opposing sun, did I then ^{heaven}
 see all heaven o'erfused ;

and as a modest dame who remaineth sure of
 herself, yet at another's fault, though only
 hearing it, feeleth all timid,

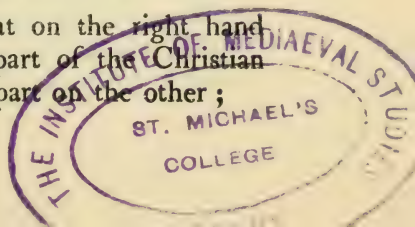
so Beatrice changed her semblance ; and such,
 I take it, was the eclipse in heaven when the
 supreme Might suffered.

Then his discourse proceeded, with voice so
 far transmuted from itself, that his semblance
 had not altered more :

" The spouse of Christ was not reared upon my ^{Ancient}
 blood, and that of Linus and of Cletus, that ^{popes}
 she might then be used for gain of gold ;

but 'twas for gain of this glad life that Sixtus
 and Pius, Calixtus and Urban shed their
 blood after many a tear.

It was not our purpose that on the right hand
 of our successors one part of the Christian
 folk should sit, and one part on the other ;



- Cielo nè che le chiavi, che mi fur concesse, 45
Stellato divenisser segnacolo in vessillo,
 che contra i battezzati combatesse ;
- nè ch' io fossi figura di sigillo 52
 ai privilegi venduti e mendaci,
 ond' io sovente arrosso e disfavillo.
- In vesta di pastor lupi rapaci 55
 si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi.
 O difesa di Dio, perchè pur giaci ?
- Del sangue nostro Caorsini e Guaschi 58
 s' apparecchian di bere. O buon principio,
 a che vil fine convien che tu caschi !
- Ma l' alta provvidenza, che con Scipio 61
 difese a Roma la gloria del mondo,
 soccorrà tosto, sì com' io concipio.
- E tu, figliuol, che per lo mortal pondo 64
 ancor giù tornerai, apri la bocca,
 e non asconder quel ch' io non ascondo.”
- Sì come di vapor gelati fiocca 67
 in giuso l' aer nostro, quando il corno
 della Capra del ciel col sol si tocca ;
- in su vid' io così l' etere adorno 70
 farsi, e fioccar di vapor trionfanti,
 che fatto avean con noi quivi soggiorno.
- Lo viso mio seguiva i suoi sembianti, 73
 e seguì in fin che il mezzo, per lo molto,
 gli tolse il trapassar del più avanti.
- Onde la donna, che mi vide assolto 76
 dell' attendere in su, mi disse : “ Adima
 il viso, e guarda come tu sei volto.”
- Dall' ora chi' io avea guardato prima, 79
 io vidi mosso me per tutto l'arco
 che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima ;

nor that the keys given in grant to me should ^{The}
 become the ensign on a standard waging ^{redeemed}
 war on the baptised ;

nor that I should become the head upon the
 seal to sold and lying privileges, whereat I
 often blush and shoot forth flames.

In garb of pastors ravening wolves are seen from
 here above in all the pastures. Succour of
 God ! oh wherefore liest thou prone ?

Cahorsines and Gascons make ready to drink ^{Modern}
 our blood. Oh fair beginning, to what vile ^{popes}
 ending must thou fall !

But the lofty Providence, which with Scipio
 defended the glory of the world for Rome,
 will soon bring succour, as I deem.

And thou, my son, who, for thy mortal weight,
 shalt return below once more, open thy mouth
 and hide thou not the thing which I not hide."

As our atmosphere raineth down in flakes the
 frozen vapours when the horn of the heavenly
 Goat is touched by the sun ;

so did I see the ether adorn itself and rain up-
 ward the flakes of the triumphant flashes,
 which had made sojourn there with us.

My sight was following their semblance, and
 followed till the medium, by excess, deprived
 it of the power to pierce more far.

Whereat the Lady, who saw me now absolved from ^{Retrospect}
 straining upward, said to me : "Down plunge
 thy sight and see how thou hast rolled."

From the hour at which I had before looked
 down, I saw that I had moved through the
 whole arc which the first Climate makes from
 middle unto end ;

- Cielo sì ch' io vedea di là da Gade il varco 82
Stellato folle d' Ulisse, e di qua presso il lito
 nel qual si fece Europa dolce carico.
- E più mi fora scoperto il sito 85
 di questa aiuola ; ma il sol procedea,
 sotto i miei piedi, un segno e più partito.
- Salita** La mente innamorata, che donnaa 88
 con la mia donna sempre, di ridure
 ad essa gli occhi più che mai ardea :
- e se natura od arte fe' pasture 91
 da pigliare occhi, per aver la mente,
 in carne umana o nelle sue pitture,
 tutte adunate parrebber niente 94
 ver lo piacer divin che mi rifulse,
 quando mi volsi al suo viso ridente.
- Primo Mobile** E la virtù, che lo sguardo m' indulse, 97
 del bel nido di Leda mi divelse,
 e nel ciel velocissimo m' impulse.
- Le parti sue vivissime ed eccelse 100
 sì uniformi son ch' io non so dire
 qual Beatrice per loco mi scelse.
- Ma ella, che vedeva il mio disire, 103
 incominciò, ridendo tanto lieta
 che Dio pareo nel suo volto gioire :
- “ La natura del mondo, che quieta 106
 il mezzo, e tutto l'altro intorno move,
 quinci comincia come da sua meta.
- E questo cielo non ha altro dove 109
 che la mente divina, in che s'accende
 l'amor che il volge e la virtù ch' ei piove.
- Luce ed amor d' un cerchio lui comprende, 112
 sì come questo gli altri, e quel precinto
 colui che il cinge solamente intende.

so that I saw beyond Cadiz the mad way which The
 Ulysses took, and on this side, hard by, the shore redeemed
 whereon Europa made herself a sweet burden.
 And further had the site of this thrashing-floor
 been unfolded to me, save that the sun was
 in advance beneath my feet, severed by a Sign
 and more from me.

My enamoured mind, which held amorous con-
 verse ever with my Lady, burned more than
 ever to bring back my eyes to her ;
 and whatsoever food nature or art e'er made, to
 catch the eyes and so possess the mind, be it
 in human flesh, be it in pictures,
 if all united, would seem nought towards the
 divine delight which glowed upon me when
 that I turned me to her smiling face.

And the power of which that look made largess The
 to me, from the fair nest of Leda plucked me swiftest
 forth, and into the swiftest heaven heaven

Its parts most living and exalted are so uniform
 that I know not to tell which Beatrice chose
 for my position.

But she, who saw my longing, smiling began
 —so glad that God seemed joying in her
 countenance—

“The nature of the universe which stilleth the
 centre and moveth all the rest around, hence
 doth begin as from its starting point.

And this heaven hath no other *where* than the
 divine mind wherein is kindled the love which
 rolleth it and the power which it sheddeth.

Light and love grasp it in one circle, as doth it
 the others, and this engirdment he only who
 doth gird it understandeth.

- Primo** Non è suo moto per altro distinto ; 115
Mobile ma gli altri son misurati da questo,
 sì come dieci da mezzo e da quinto.
- E come il tempo tenga in cotal testo 118
 le sue radici e negli altri le fronde,
 omai a te puot' esser manifestò.
- O cupidigia, che i mortali affonde 121
 sì sotto te, che nessuno ha potere
 di trarre gli occhi fuor delle tue onde!
- Ben fiorisce negli uomini il volere ; 124
 ma la pioggia continua converte
 in bozzacchioni le susine vere.
- Fede ed innocenza son reperte 127
 solo nei parvoletti ; poi ciascuna
 pria fugge che le guance sien coperte.
- Tale, balbuziando ancor, digiuna, 130
 che poi divora, con la lingua sciolta,
 qualunque cibo per qualunque luna ;
- e tal, balbuziando, ama ed ascolta 133
 la madre sua, che, con loquela intera,
 disira poi di vederla sepolta.
- Così si fa la pelle bianca, nera, 136
 nel primo aspetto, della bella figlia
 di quei ch'apporta mane e lascia sera.
- Tu, perchè non ti facci maraviglia, 139
 pensa che in terra non è chi governi ;
 onde sì svia l'umana famiglia.
- Ma prima che gennaio tutto si sverni, 142
 per la centesima ch'è laggiù negletta,
 ruggiran sì questi cerchi superni
- che la fortuna, che tanto s'aspetta, 145
 le poppe volgerà u' son le prore,
 sì che la classe correrà diretta ;
- e vero frutto verrà dopo il fiore." 148

Its movement by no other is marked out ; but The angels
 by it all the rest are measured, as ten by half
 and fifth.

And how Time in this same vessel hath its roots, The roots
 and in the rest its leaves, may now be mani- of time
 fest to thee.

O greed, who so dost abase mortals below thee,
 that not one hath power to draw his eyes forth
 from thy waves!

'Tis true the will in men hath vigour yet ; but
 the continuous drench turneth true plum fruits
 into cankered tubers.

Faith and innocence are found only in little Degenera-
 children ; then each of them fleeth away acy on
 before the cheeks are covered. earth

Many a still lisping child observeth fast, who
 after, when his tongue is free, devoureth every
 food in every month ;

and many a lisping child loveth and hearkeneth
 to his mother, who after, when his speech is
 full, longeth to see her buried.

So blackeneth at the first aspect the white skin
 of his fair daughter who bringeth morn and
 leaveth evening.

And thou, lest thou make marvel at it, reflect that
 there is none to govern upon earth, wherefore
 the human household so strayeth from the path.

But, ere that January be all unwintered by that
 hundredth part neglected upon earth, so shall
 these upper circles roar

that the fated season so long awaited shall turn
 round the poops where are the prows, so that
 the fleet shall have straight course ; and true
 fruit shall follow on the flower."

13-15. Changed from white to red.

22-24. The charge of usurpation and the declaration that the Papacy is vacant doubtless bear a specific reference to the measures which Boniface took to force his predecessor Celestine V. (compare *Inf.* iii. 58-60) to resign. See Villani, viii. 5. But Dante does not consistently regard Boniface as a no-pope. Compare *Purg.* xx. 85-90.

40-45. A selection of the Popes of the first three centuries.

46-48. Refers to the Papal hostility to the adherents of the Empire.

49-51. Perhaps a specific reference to the struggle of Boniface with the Colonna family. Compare *Inf.* xxvii. 85-90. Villani, viii. 23.

58. Clement V. (1305-1314) was a Gascon, and John XXII. (1316-1334) a native of Cahors.

61. Cf. note to vi. 53, and *Conv.* iv. 5 : 164-171.

69. The Sun is in Capricorn in parts of December and January.

74, 75. Contrast xxx. 121-123 : xxxi. 78.

79-81. Compare xxii. 124-154. The "climata" are latitudinal divisions which may be applied equally to the heavens and the earth. There is some difference of usage amongst the mediæval geographers, but it seems probable that Dante regarded the Twins, in which he was situated, as lying on the upper confines of the first clima. The passage, therefore, seems to mean simply, 'I had revolved, with the first clima, through a whole quadrant.'

83, 84. It was now sunset on the coast of Phœnicia, where Jupiter, in the form of a bull, took Europa on his shoulders. From this we must calculate back to the position indicated at the close of Canto xxii. It should be borne in mind that according to Dante's geography Jerusalem was the centre of the inhabited globe; the mouths of the Ganges were the extreme to the east, 90° distant from Jerusalem; and Gibraltar the extreme to the west, also 90° from Jerusalem; Rome being midway between Jerusalem and Gibraltar. The maps on pp. 396, 397, will complete the explanation.

98. The twins, Castor and Pollux, children of Leda, whom Jupiter wooed in the form of a swan.

106-108. 'The *natural property* in virtue of which,' &c. Compare iv. 131, *note*.

136-138. A difficult and disputed passage. Line 138 can only mean "the Sun"; and since he is the "father of each mortal life" (xxii. 116), and since man is "begotten by man and by the sun" (Compare *De Monarchia*, i. 9: 6, 7), we are perhaps right in taking his "fair daughter" to be *Humanity*.

142, 143. The Julian calendar (which we rectified in 1752) makes the year 11 m. 14 sec. (very roughly one hundredth of a day) too long. In Dante's time, therefore, January began, by calendar, a little later in the real year every season; and thus, in the course of ages, it would begin so late that winter would really be over before we came to New Year's Day by calendar. The substitution of an immense period for a short one is parallel to our "not a thousand miles hence."

PARADISO

AFTER Beatrice's discourse Dante, gazing upon her eyes, is suddenly aware of the reflection in them of a thing which was not in his sight or thought (1-12), and on turning to see what it may be he perceives a point of intensest light (13-21) with nine concentric circles wheeling round it; swift and bright in proportion to their nearness to the point (22-39). Beatrice, quoting Aristotle's phrase concerning God, declares that Heaven and all Nature hang upon that point, and bids Dante note the burning love that quickens the movement of the inmost circle (40-45). Thereon Dante at once perceives that the nine circles represent the Intelligences or angelic orders connected with the nine revolving heavens, but cannot see why the outmost, swiftest, widest sweeping and most divine heaven should correspond with the inmost and smallest angelic circle (46-57). Beatrice explains that the divine substance of the heavens being uniform that heaven which is materially greatest has in it the most of excellence; but it is the excellence, not the size, that is essential. In like manner swiftness and brightness are the measure of the excellence of the angelic circles, and therefore

Primo Mobile Poscia che contro alla vita presente
dei miseri mortali aperse il vero
quella che imparadisa la mia mente;
come in lo specchio fiamma di doppiero 4
vede colui che se n'alluma retro,
prima che l'abbia in vista o in pensiero,
e sè rivolge, per veder se il vetro 7
gli dice il vero, e vede ch' ei s' accorda
con esso, come nota con suo metro;
così la mia memoria si ricorda 10
ch' io feci, riguardando nei begli occhi,
onde a pigliarmi fece Amor la corda:

CANTO XXVIII

the inmost of them which is swiftest and brightest represents those intelligences that love and know most ; and the spiritual correspondence is complete between the two diverse spacial presentations. Thus the relativity of space-conceptions is suggested. God may be conceived as the spaceless centre of the universe just as well as the all-embracer (58-78). Dante, now enlightened, sees the circles shoot out countless sparks that follow them in their whirling ; and hears them all sing Hosanna ; while Beatrice further explains how the swift joy of the angels is proportioned to their sight, their sight to their merit, won by grace and by exercise of will ; whereas love is not the foundation but the inevitable consequence of knowledge (79-129). She has explained the three hierarchies and nine orders of the Angels, as Dionysius (enlightened by his own intense passion of contemplation, and instructed by Paul who had been rapt to heaven), had set them forth. Gregory, having departed from the scheme of Dionysius, smiled at his own error when he beheld this heaven (130-139).

When, counter to the present life of wretched mortals, the truth had been revealed by her who doth emparadise my mind ;
as in the mirror a taper's flame, kindled behind a man, is seen of him or ere itself be in his sight or thought,
and he turneth back to see whether the glass speak truth to him, and seeth it accordant with it as song-words to their measure ;
so doth my memory recall it chanced to me, gazing upon the beauteous eyes whence love had made the noose to capture me ;

- Primo e Mobile** e com' io mi rivolsi, e furon tocchi 13
 li miei da ciò che pare in quel volume,
 quandunque nel suo giro ben s' adocchi,
 un punto vidi che raggiava lume 16
 acuto sì che il viso, ch' egli affoca,
 chiuder conviensi, per lo forte acume ;
 e quale stella par quinci più poca, 19
 parrebbe luna locata con esso,
 come stella con stella si colloca.
 Forse cotanto, quanto pare appresso 22
 alo cinger la luce che il dipigne,
 quando il vapor, che il porta, più è spesso,
 distante intorno al punto un cerchio d' igne 25
 si girava sì ratto, ch' avria vinto
 quel moto che più tosto il mondo cigne ;
 e questo era d' un altro circuncinto, 28
 e quel dal terzo, e il terzo poi dal quarto,
 dal quinto il quarto, e poi dal sesto il quinto.
 Sopra seguiva il settimo sì sparto 31
 già di larghezza, che il messo di Juno
 intero a contenerlo sarebbe arto.
 Così l' ottavo e il nono ; e ciascheduno 34
 più tardo si movea, secondo ch' era
 in numero distante più dall' uno ;
 e quello avea la fiamma più sincera, 37
 cui men distava la favilla pura ;
 credo, però che più di lei s' invera.
 La donna mia, che mi vedeva in cura 40
 forte sospeso, disse : “ Da quel punto
 dipende il cielo, e tutta la natura.
 Mira quel cerchio che più gli è congiunto, 43
 e sappi che il suo muovere è sì tosto
 per l' affocato amore ond' egli è punto.”

and when I turned, and mine own were smitten The angels
 by what appeareth in that volume whene'er
 upon its circling the eye is rightly fixed,
 a point I saw which rayed forth light so keen,
 needs must the vision that it flameth on be
 closed because of its strong poignancy ;
 and whatever star from here appeareth smallest,
 were seen a moon neighboured with it, as star
 with star is neighboured.

Perhaps as close as the halo seemeth to gird the God and
the angelic
hierarchies
 luminary that doth paint it, whenso the vapour
 which supporteth it is thickest,

at such interval around the point there wheeled
 a circle of fire so rapidly it had surpassed the
 motion which doth swiftest gird the universe ;
 and this was by a second girt around, that by a
 third, and the third by a fourth, by a fifth the
 fourth, then by a sixth the fifth.

Thereafter followed the seventh, already in its
 stretch so far outspread that were the messenger
 of Juno made complete, it were too strait to
 hold it.

And so the eighth and ninth ; and each one
 moved slower according as in number it was
 more remote from unity ;

and that one had the clearest flame, from which
 the pure spark was least distant ; because, I take
 it, it sinketh deepest into the truth thereof.

My Lady, who beheld me in toil of deep God
 suspense, said : " From that point doth hang
 heaven and all nature.

Look on that circle which is most conjoint thereto,
 and know its movement is so swift by reason
 of the enkindled love whereby 'tis pierced."

- Primo Ed io a lei : “ Se il mondo fosse posto 46
Mobile con l'ordine, ch' io veggio in quelle rote,
sazio m'avrebbe ciò che m' è proposto.
- Ma nel mondo sensibile si puote 49
veder le volte tanto più divine,
quant' elle son dal centro più remote.
- Onde, se il mio disio dee aver fine 52
in questo miro ed angelico templo,
che solo amore e luce ha per confine,
udir conviemmi ancor perchè l'esempio 55
e l'esemplare non vanno d' un modo ;
chè io per me indarno ciò contemplo.”
- “ Se li tuoi diti non sono a tal nodo 58
sufficienti, non è maraviglia,
tanto, per non tentare, è fatto sodo.”
- Così la donna mia ; poi disse : “ Piglia 61
quel ch' io ti dicerò, se vuoi saziarti,
ed intorno da esso t' assottiglia.
- Li cerchi corporai sono ampi ed arti, 64
secondo il più e il men della virtute,
che si distende per tutte lor parti.
- Maggior bontà vuol far maggior salute ; 67
maggior salute maggior corpo cape,
s' egli ha le parti egualmente compiute.
- Dunque costui, che tutto quante rape 70
l'altro universo seco, corrisponde
al cerchio che più ama e che più sape.
- Per che, se tu alla virtù circonde 73
la tua misura, non alla parvenza
delle sustanzie che t'appaion tonde,
tu vederai mirabil conseguenza, 76
di maggio a più e di minore a meno,
in ciascun cielo, a sua intelligenza.”

And I to her : “ Were the universe disposed in **The angels**
 the order I behold in these wheelings, then
 were I satisfied with what is set before me.

But in the universe of sense we may see the
 circlings more divine as from the centre they
 are more removed.

Wherefore, if it behoveth my desire to find its
 goal in this wondrous and angelic temple which
 hath only love and light for boundary,

needs must I further hear wherefore the copy **Hierarchies**
 and the pattern go not in one fashion ; for, **and spheres**
 for myself, I gaze on it in vain.”

“ And if for such a knot thy fingers are not able,
 no marvel is it ; so hard hath it become by
 never being tried.”

So my Lady ; and then said : “ Take that
 which I shall tell thee, wouldst thou be
 satisfied, and ply thy wit around it.

The corporeal circles are ample or strait
 according to the more or less of the virtue
 which spreadeth over all their parts.

Greater excellence hath purpose to work greater
 weal ; and greater weal is comprehended in the
 greater body if that the parts be equally con-
 summate.

Therefore the one which sweepeth with it all the **Their con-**
 rest of the universe, correspondeth to the circle **gruence**
 that most loveth and most knoweth.

Wherefore, if thou draw thy measure round the
 virtue, not the semblance of the substances
 which appear to thee in circles,

thou wilt see a wondrous congruance of greater
 unto more and smaller unto less in every
 heaven to its intelligence.”

- Primo** Come rimane splendido e sereno 79
Mobile l' emisperio dell'aer, quando soffia
 Borea da quella guancia ond' è più leno,
 per che si purga e risolve la roffia 81
 che pria turbava, sì che il ciel ne ride
 con le bellezze d' ogni sua paroffia ;
 così fec' io, poi che mi provvide 85
 la donna mia del suo risponder chiaro,
 e, come stella in cielo, il ver si vide.
 E poi che le parole sue restaro, 88
 non altrimenti ferro disfavilla
 che bolle, come i cerchi sfavillaro.
 Lo incendio lor seguiva ogni scintilla ; 91
 ed eran tante, che il numero loro
 più che il doppiar degli scacchi s' immilla.
 Io sentiva osannar di coro in coro 94
 al punto fisso che li tiene all'*ubi*,
 e terrà sempre, nel qual sempre foro ;
 e quella, che vedeva i pensier dubi 97
 nella mia mente, disse : " I cerchi primi
 t' hanno mostrati i Serafi e i Cherubi.
 Così veloci seguono i suoi vimi, 100
 per simigliarsi al punto quanto ponno,
 e posson quanto a veder son sublimi.
 Quegli altri amor, che intorno a lor vonno, 103
 si chiaman Troni del divin aspetto,
 perchè il primo ternaro terminonno.
 E dei saper che tutti hanno diletto, 106
 quanto la sua veduta si profonda
 nel vero, in che si queta ogn' intelletto.
 Quinci si può veder come si fonda 109
 l' esser beato nell' atto che vede,
 non in quel ch' ama, che poscia seconda ;

As the hemisphere of air becometh shining and serene when Boreas bloweth from his gentler cheek, The angels

whereby is purged and is resolved the film which erst obscured it, so that the heaven laugheth with the beauties of its every district ;

so did I, when my Lady had made provision to me of her clear-shining answer ; and like a star in heaven the truth was seen.

And when her words stayed, no otherwise doth iron shoot forth sparkles, when it boileth, than did the circles sparkle.

And every spark followed their blaze ; and their numbers were such as ran to thousands beyond the duplication of the chessboard. Angelle sports

From choir to choir I heard Hosanna sung to that fixed point which holdeth and shall ever hold them to the *where*, in which they have been ever ;

and she who saw the questioning thoughts within my mind, said : “ The first circles have revealed to thee the Seraphs and the Cherubs. The hierarchies

So swift they follow their withies that they may liken them unto the point as most they may ; and they may in measure as they are sublime in vision.

Those other loves which course around them are named Thrones of the divine aspect, because they brought to its completion the first ternary.

And thou shouldst know that all have their delight in measure as their sight sinketh more deep into the truth wherein every intellect is stilled.

Hence may be seen how the being blessed is founded on the act that seeth, not that which loveth, which after followeth ;

- Primo e del vedere è misura mercede,** 112
Mobile che grazia partorisce e buona voglia ;
 così di grado in grado si procede.
- L' altro ternaro, che così germoglia** 115
 in questa primavera sempiterna,
 che notturno Ariete non dispoglia,
 perpetualmente Osanna sverna 118
 con tre melode, che suonano in tree
 ordini di letizia, onde s' interna.
- In essa gerarchia son le tre dee :** 121
 prima Dominazioni, e poi Virtudi ;
 l'ordine terzo di Podestadi ee.
- Poscia nei due penultimi tripudi** 124
 Principati ed Arcangeli si girano ;
 l'ultimo è tutto d' Angelici ludi.
- Questi ordini di su tutti rimirano,** 127
 e di giù vincon sì che verso Dio
 tutti tirati sono e tutti tirano.
- E Dionisio con tanto disio** 130
 a contemplar questi ordini si mise,
 che li nomò e distinse com' io.
- Ma Gregorio da lui poi si divise ;** 133
 onde, sì tosto come l'occhio aperse
 in questo ciel, di sè medesmo rise.
- E se tanto segreto ver proferse** 136
 mortale in terra, non voglio ch' ammiri ;
 chè chi il vide quassù gliel discoperse
 con altro assai del ver di questi giri." 139

13-15. *Mine own, sc. "eyes."* "The heavens declare the glory of God," *Psalm xix. 1* ; and whoso looketh at them aright perceives that glory.

16. "And it has been shewn that this Being [the Divine Being] hath not magnitude, but is without parts and indivisible."—Aristotle.

and the measure of sight is the merit which The angels
 grace begetteth and the righteous will ; and
 thus from rank to rank the progress goeth.

The second ternary which thus flowereth in this
 eternal spring which nightly Aries doth not
 despoil,

unceasingly unwintereth Hosanna with three
 melodies which sound in the three orders
 of gladness, whereof it is three-plyed.

In that hierarchy are the three divinities, first
 Dominations, and then Virtues ; the third
 order is of Powers.

Then in the two last-save-one upheapings, Prin-
 cipalities and Archangels whirl ; the last con-
 sisteth all of Angelic sports.

These orders all gaze upward, and downward
 have such conquering might that toward God
 all are drawn and all draw.

And Dionysius with such yearning set himself to Dionysius
and
Gregory
 contemplate these orders that he named them
 and distinguished them as I.

But Gregory afterward departed from him,
 wherefore so soon as he opened his eye in
 this heaven he smiled at his own self.

And if so hidden truth was uttered forth by
 mortal upon earth, I would not have thee
 marvel ; for he who saw it here above revealed Paul
 it to him, with much beside of truth about
 these circles."

22-24. Compare x. 67-69.

32. *Iris*=the rainbow. Compare xii. 10-12.

39. *Thereof*, i.e. of the pure spark.

41, 42. "Now from such a principle heaven and
 earth depend."—Aristotle. Wallace, 39, *note* 1.

54. 'Is not contained in space.' Compare xxx. 38, 39.

72. The Seraphs, who "see more of the First Cause than any other angelic nature" (*Conv.* ii. 6: 79-81) and therefore must needs love more. Compare xxvi. 28-30 and lines 109-111 of this Canto.

73-75. "If thou consider the intensive quantity and not the extensive. For extensive quantity is corporeal and apparent, whereas intensive quantity is spiritual and unapparent."—Benvenuto.

80, 81. N.-E. the sky-clearing wind, as opposed to N.-W. the sky-clouding wind. The usage of the Latin writers (e.g. Boethius and Virgil) leaves no room to doubt that this is the meaning.

93. If one grain of corn were reckoned for the first square of a chess-board, two for the second, four for the third, &c., it may be seen by a calculation which a logarithmic table will make extremely easy, that the total will be about $18\frac{1}{2}$ million million million.

95, 96. A variant on lines 41, 42.

105. By what logic are they called Thrones *because* they close the first ternary? Apparently because *Seraphs* with their wings, and *Gherubs* with their eyes, emphasise the up-going to God and insight into his being; and a complete reflection of the relations between the first hierarchy and the Deity would not be given in the nomenclature unless the *Thrones* were added to signify the superincumbent power of God manifesting itself through and in the Angels, as well as his glory drawing them to himself. Perhaps this may explain why Dante treats utterances of gladness in God as directly connected with the *Seraphim* (compare viii. 27: ix. 76-78) and confidence in the manifestations of God's power as connected with the *Thrones* (v. 115: ix. 61), without reference to the sphere in which the words are spoken.

109-111. The conception here formulated pervades the whole poem. Compare xiv. 40-42: xxix. 139, 140; the *note* on line 72 of this Canto, &c. It is interesting to compare with this view the following pas-

sage from Aquinas: "Knowledge existeth in measure as the things known are in him who knoweth, but love in measure as the lover is united to the loved. Now the higher abide after a more noble fashion in themselves than in those below them; but the lower in a more noble fashion in those above them than in themselves. And therefore the knowledge of what is beneath us excelleth the love thereof; but the love of what is above us, and especially of God, excelleth the knowledge of the same." Observe, however, that there is no inconsistency between this doctrine and the teaching of Dante; for Dante maintains that knowledge is the condition of love, rather than love the condition of knowledge, not that knowledge is itself intrinsically superior to love, an idea which he was evidently far from holding. See the final vision in Canto xxxiii.

117. From the Autumn Equinox all through the Winter till the Spring Equinox the sign of Aries is visible in the sky at nightfall. The line therefore means 'where there is no Autumn nor Winter.'

118. *Unwintereth*. A use of the word bold almost to audacity. In the Troubadour poetry the birds are said to "unwinter" themselves, that is to say, to put off winter in their spring songs, and so to "unwinter Hosanna" is used for 'to sing Hosanna in the eternal spring of heaven.'

133. Gregory (pope, 590-604) has an arrangement that differs from that of Dionysius only in the interchange of Virtues and Principalities. Probably he was unacquainted with the works attributed to Dionysius, since they first gained currency in the West through the translations of Scotus Erigena in the ninth century. The arrangement which Dante had followed in *Conv.* ii. 6: 43-55 is identical with that of Brunetto Latini, and is ultimately derived from Isidore of Seville.

138. St. Paul. Compare *Acts* xvii. 34, and 2 *Cor.* xii. 2-4.

PARADISO

BEATRICE gazes for a moment upon that point of light wherein every *where* is here and every *when* is now, and therein reads the questions Dante would fain have her answer (1-12). It was not to acquire any good for himself, but that his reflected light might itself have the joy of conscious existence, that God, in his timeless eternity, uttered himself as love in created beings, themselves capable of loving (13-18). It is vain to ask what God was doing before the creation, for Time has no relevance except within the range of creation; nor was the first creation itself successive, or temporal at all; for pure form or act (the angels) pure matter or potentiality (the *materia prima*) and inseparably united act and potentiality (the material heavens) issued into simultaneous being (19-36). Jerome was wrong (as Scripture and reason testify) in thinking that the angels were created long before the heavens over which it is the office of certain of them to preside (37-45). Dante now knows where the angels were created (in God's eternity) and when (contemporaneously with Time and with the Heavens) and how (all loving); but has yet to learn how soon certain fell (ere one might

Primo Mobile Quando ambo e due i figli di Latona,
 coperti del Montone e della Libra,
 fanno dell'orizzonte insieme zona,
 quant' è dal punto che il zenit inlibra, 4
 infin che l'uno e l'altro da quel cinto,
 cambiando l'emisperio, si dilibra,
 tanto, col volto di riso dipinto, 7
 si tacque Beatrice, riguardando
 fisso nel punto che m'aveva vinto;
 poi cominciò: "Io dico, non domando 10
 quel che tu vuoi udir, perch' io l' ho visto
 dove s'appunta ogni *ubi* ed ogni *quando*."

CANTO XXIX

count twenty) and why (because of Satan's pride), and how the less presumptuous ones recognised the source of their swift and wide range of understanding, and so received grace (the acceptance of which was itself a merit), and were confirmed (46-66). This instruction were enough, did not the prevalence of erroneous teaching (honest and dishonest) make it needful to add that the angels, ever rejoicing in the direct contemplation of God, see all things always, and therefore exercise no changing stress of attention, and therefore need no power of memory, since their thought never having lost immediate hold of aught needs not to recall aught (67-84). Beatrice goes on to denounce the vain and flippant teaching by which the faithful are deluded (85-117), and especially the unauthorised pardonings (118-126); and finally, returning to the subject of the angels, explains that though in number they surpass the power of human language or conception, yet each has his own specific quality of insight and of resultant love. Such is the wonder of the divine love which breaks itself upon such countless mirrors, yet remains ever one (127-145).

When both the two children of Latona, covered The angels
 by the Ram and by the Scales, make the
 horizon their girdle at one same moment,
 as long as from the point when the zenith bal-
 anceth the scale, till one and the other from
 that belt unbalanceth itself, changing its hemi-
 sphere,
 so long, with a smile traced on her countenance,
 did Beatrice hold her peace, gazing fixedly
 on the point which had o'ermastered me ;
 then she began : " I tell, not ask, that which
 thou fain wouldst hear ; for I have seen it
 where every *where* and every *when* is focussed.

- Primo Non per aver a sè di bene acquisto, 13
 Mobile ch'esser non può, ma perchè suo splendore
 potesse, risplendendo, dir: *Subsisto.*
- In sua eternità di tempo fuore, 16
 fuor d'ogni altro comprender, come i piacque,
 s'aperse in nuovi amor l'eterno amore.
- Nè prima quasi torpente si giacque; 19
 chè nè prima nè poscia procedette
 lo discorrer di Dio sopra quest'acque.
- Forma e materia congiunte e purette 22
 uscìro ad esser che non avea fallo,
 come d'arco tricolore tre saette;
- e come in vetro, in ambra od in cristallo 25
 raggio risplende sì che dal venire
 all'esser tutto non è intervallo;
- così il triforme effetto del suo Sire 28
 nell'esser suo raggiò insieme tutto,
 senza distinzion nell'esordire.
- Concreato fu ordine e costruito 31
 alle sustanzie: e quelle furon cima
 nel mondo, in che puro atto fu prodotto.
- Pura potenza tenne la parte ima; 34
 nel mezzo strinse potenza con atto
 tal vime, che giammai non si divima.
- Jeronimo vi scrisse lungo tratto 37
 di secoli degli Angeli creati
 anzi che l'altro mondo fosse fatto;
- ma questo vero è scritto in molti lati 40
 dagli scrittor dello Spirito Santo;
 e tu te n'avvedrai, se bene agguati:
- ed anche la ragione il vede alquanto, 43
 che non concederebbe che i motori
 senza sua perfezion fosser cotanto.

Not to have gain of any good unto himself, The angels.
Creation
which may not be, but that his splendour
might, as it glowed, declare, *I am*.

In his eternity beyond time, beyond all other
comprehension, as was his pleasure, the eternal
love revealed him in new loves.

Nor did he lie, as slumbering, before; for nor
before nor after was the process of God's
outflowing over these waters.

Form and matter, united and in purity, issued
into being which had no flaw, as from a three-
stringed bow three arrows;

and as in glass, in amber, or in crystal, a ray
so gloweth that from its coming to its per-
vading all, there is no interval;

so the threefold effect of its Lord rayed out all Angels,
matter and
the heavens
at once into its being, without distinction of
beginning.

Co-created was order and co-woven with the
substances; and those were the summit in
the universe wherein pure act was produced.

Pure potentiality held the lowest place; in the
midst power twisted such a withy with act
as shall ne'er be unwithied.

Jerome wrote to you of a long stretch of ages
wherein the Angels were created ere aught
else of the universe was made;

but the truth I tell is writ on many a page
of the writers of the Holy Spirit, and thou
shalt be aware of it if well thou look;

and also reason seeth it some little, which would
not grant that the movers should so long abide
without their perfecting.

- Primo Mobile** Or sai tu dove e quando questi amori
furon eletti, e come; sì che spenti
nel tuo disio già sono tre ardori. 46
- Nè giugneriesi numerando al venti
sì tosto, come degli Angeli parte
turbò il soggetto dei vostri elementi. 49
- L'altra rimase, e cominciò quest'arte,
che tu discerni, con tanto diletto,
che mai da circuir non si diparte. 52
- Principio del cader fu il maledetto
superbir di colui, che tu vedesti
da tutti i pesi del mondo costretto. 55
- Quelli, che vedi qui, furon modesti
a riconoscer sè dalla bontate,
che gli avea fatti a tanto intender presti;
per che le viste lor furo esaltate 61
con grazia illuminante e con lor merto,
sì ch' hanno piena e ferma voluntate.
- E non voglio che dubbi, ma sie certo
che ricever la grazia è meritorio,
secondo che l'affetto l'è aperto. 64
- Omai d' intorno a questo consistorio
puoi contemplare assai, se le parole
mie son ricolte, senz' altro aiutorio. 67
- Ma perchè in terra per le vostre scuole
si legge che l'angelica natura
è tal che intende e si ricorda e vuole,
ancor dirò, perchè tu veggì pura 73
la verità che laggiù si confonde,
equivocando in sì fatta lettura.
- Queste sustanzie, poichè fur gioconde
della faccia di Dio, non volser viso
da essa, da cui nulla si nasconde: 76

Now dost thou know where and when these The angels
 Loves were chosen and how, so that three
 flames are quenched already in thy longing.

Nor should one, counting, come so soon to twenty
 as did a part of the Angels disturb the sub-
 strate of your elements.

The rest abode and began this art which thou Angels
 perceivest, with so great delight that from fallen and
 circling round they ne'er depart. confirmed

The beginning of the fall was the accursed pride
 of him whom thou didst see constrained by
 all the weights of the universe.

Those whom thou seest here were modest to
 acknowledge themselves derived from that
 same Excellence which made them swift to
 so great understanding ;

wherefore their vision was exalted with grace
 illuminating and with their merit, so that they
 have their will full and established.

And I would not have thee doubt, but be assured
 that 'tis a merit to receive the grace by laying
 the affection open to it.

Now, as concerns this consistory much mayst
 thou contemplate (if my words have been up-
 gathered) with no other aid.

But since on earth in your schools 'tis said in The angeli
 lectures that the angelic nature is such as faculties
 understandeth and remembereth and willeth,

I will speak on, that thou mayst see in purity
 the truth that down there is confounded by
 the equivocations of such like discourse.

These substances, since first they gathered joy
 from the face of God, have never turned their
 vision from it wherefrom nought is concealed ;

- Primo però non hanno vedere interciso 79
 Mobile da nuovo obbietto, e però non bisogna
 rimemorar per concetto diviso.
- Si che laggiù non dormendo si sogna, 82
 credendo e non credendo dicer vero ;
 ma nell'uno è più colpa e più vergogna.
- Voi non andate giù per un sentiero 85
 filosofando ; tanto vi trasporta
 l'amor dell'apparenza e il suo pensiero.
- Ed ancor questo quassù si comporta 88
 con men disdegno, che quando è posposta
 la divina scrittura, o quando è torta.
- Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa 91
 seminarla nel mondo, e quanto piace
 chi umilmente con essa s' accosta.
- Per apparer ciascun s' ingegna, e face 94
 sue invenzioni, e quelle son trascorse
 dai predicanti, e il vangelo si tace.
- Un dice che la luna si ritorse 97
 nella passion di Cristo e s' interpose,
 per che il lume del sol giù non si porse ;
- ed altri che la luce si nascose 100
 da sè ; però agl' Ispani ed agl' Indi,
 com' a' Giudei, tale eclissi rispose.
- Non ha Fiorenza tanti Lapi e Bindi, 103
 quante sì fatte favole per anno
 in pergamo si gridan quinci e quindi ;
- sì che le pecorelle, che non sanno, 106
 tornan dal pasco pasciute di vento,
 e non le scusa non veder lo danno.
- Non disse Cristo al suo primo convento : 109
Andate e predicate al mondo ciance,
 ma diede lor verace fondamento ;

wherefore their sight is never intercepted by a fresh object, and so behoveth not to call aught back to memory because thought hath been cleft. Wherefore they dream, down there, though sleeping not; thinking or thinking not they speak the truth; but more in one than other is the fault and shame.

Ye below tread not on one path when ye philosophise, so far doth love of show, and the thought it begets transport you.

Yet even this with lesser indignation is endured here above than when divine Scripture is thrust behind or wrenched aside.

They think not how great the cost of blood to sow it in the world, and how he pleaseth who humbly keepeth by its side.

Each one straineth his wit to make a show and plieth his inventions; and these are handled by the preachers, and the Gospel left in silence.

Vain
teaching

One saith the moon drew herself back when Christ suffered, and interposed herself that the sun's light spread not itself below; and others, that the light concealed itself of its own self; wherefore that same eclipse responded to the Spaniards and the Indians as to the Jews.

Florence hath not so many Lapos and Bindos as the fables of such fashion that yearly are proclaimed from the pulpit on this side and on that; so that the sheep, who know not aught, return from their pasture fed with wind, and not to see their loss doth not excuse them.

Christ said not to his first assembly: *Go and preach trifles to the world*;—but gave to them the true foundation;

- Primo e quel tanto sonò nelle sue guance, 112
 Mobile sì ch' a pugar, per accender la fede,
 dell' evangelio fero scudo e lance.
- Ora si va con motti e con iscede 115
 a predicare, e pur che ben si rida,
 gonfia il cappuccio, e più non si richiede.
- Ma tale uccel nel becchetto s' annida, 118
 che, se il vulgo il vedesse, vederebbe
 la perdonanza di che si confida ;
- per cui tanta stoltizia in terra crebbe, 121
 che, senza prova d'alcun testimonio,
 ad ogni promission si converrebbe.
- Di questo ingrassa il porco sant' Antonio, 124
 ed altri ancor che son assai più porci,
 pagando di moneta senza conio.
- Ma perchè siam digressi assai, ritorci 127
 gli occhi oramai verso la dritta strada,
 sì che la via col tempo si raccorci.
- Questa natura sì oltre s' ingrada 130
 in numero, che mai non fu loquela,
 nè concetto mortal che tanto vada :
- e se tu guardi quel che si rivela 133
 per Daniel, vedrai che in sue migliaia
 determinato numero si cela.
- La prima luce, che tutta la raia, 136
 per tanti modi in essa si recepe,
 quanti son gli splendori a che s'appaia.
- Onde, però che all'atto che concepe 139
 segue l'affetto, d'amor la dolcezza
 diversamente in essa ferve e tepe.
- Vedi l'eccelso omai, e la larghezza 142
 dell'eterno valor, poscia che tanti
 speculi fatti s' ha, in che si spezza,
 uno manendo in sè, come davanti." 145

that, and that only, sounded on their lips; ^{The} wherefore for their battle to kindle faith they ^{angels} made both shield and lance out of the Gospel.

Now they go forth with jests and with grimaces to preach, and if loud laughter rise, the hood inflates and no more is required.

But such a bird is nestling in the hood-tail that if the crowd should see it, they would see what pardon they are trusting in;

wherefore such folly hath increased on earth ^{Vain} that without proof of any testimony the folk ^{pardonings} would jump with any promise.

Whereby Antonio fatteneth his swine, and others too, more swinish far than they, paying with money that hath no imprint.

But since we have digressed enough, turn back thine eyes now to the true path, so that our journey may contract with our time.

This nature ranketh so wide in number that ne'er ^{Nature and} was speech nor thought of mortal that advanced ^{number of} so far: ^{angels}

and if thou look at that which is revealed by Daniel, thou shalt see that in his thousands determinate number is lost to sight.

The primal light which doth o'erray it all, is received by it in so many ways as are the splendours wherewithal it paireth.

Wherefore, since affection followeth on the act that doth conceive, the sweetness of love in diverse fashion boileth or is warm in them.

See now the height and breadth of the eternal worth, since it hath made itself so many mirrors wherein it breaketh, remaining in itself one as before "

1-6. The Moon (Diana), when at the full, rises just as the Sun (Apollo) sets, or sets as he rises.

13-18. Dante is careful in the use of "splendor" for reflected, not direct light. *Epist. ad Can. Grand.*, 349-437 [§ 20-23], and *Conv.* iii. 14: 29-50). Therefore we must not understand this passage as declaring the manifestation of his own glory to be God's motive in creation, but rather the conferring of conscious being, the sense of existence, upon his creatures. 'In order that his creatures (*i.e.*, his reflected glory, his splendor) might be able to say: *I am.*' This is in conformity with what Aquinas and others say as to love as God's motive in creation. Compare vii. 64-66, *note*.

20. If we might read, with some MSS., *precedette* for *procedette* the meaning would be much easier: 'Since there is no *before* nor *after* save with reference to creation (because Time itself is a creation), the question is equivalent to: *What was God doing before there was any before.*' But the authority for *procedette* (proceeded) is too strong to be neglected. The translation and argument explain the sense in which we take it.

22. *United* in the material heavens; and in their several *purity* in the Angels and the *Materia Prima*.

25-37. It was a received point in the Aristotelian physics that light occupies no time in diffusing itself through a translucent medium or substance. Beatrice, then, declares that the creation of the Angels, of the *Prima Materia*, of the physical heavens [and also time and space] was instantaneous. The successional creation recorded in *Genesis* was a subsequent process of evolution which took place in time, and through the instrumentality of the Angels.

32, 33. The Angels. *Act* or *actuality* is opposed to *potentiality*. Man's intellect is "possible" or "potential," that is to say, we know potentially much that we do not know actually, and (in another but allied sense) are potentially thinking and feeling many things that we are not actually thinking and feeling; whereas the whole potentialities of an angel's existence are continuously actualised. (Compare *De Monarchia*, i. 3: 55-62, and lines 70-81 of this Canto.)

34. The *Materia Prima*.

35, 36. The material heavens; not humanity. (Compare vii. 130.)

40. Perhaps *Ecclesiasticus* xviii. 1, where the *Vulgate* reads, "He who liveth eternally created all things at once (*simul*)."
It was also argued from *Gen.* i. 1, "*in the beginning*" that there had been no long-previous creation.

45. *Without their perfecting, i.e.* as organs without a function, not being able to perform that for which they were created. On the relation of those Angels who specially presided over the revolving heavens and the other Angels in the Orders to which they respectively pertained, see *Conv.* ii. 5: 11-98.

49-51. Here Dante avoids the vexed question as to whether some angels fell from each of the Orders. In *Conv.* ii. 6: 95-99, he had expressly declared that some, perhaps a tenth, of each Order fell. *Il soggetto dei vostri elementi* is usually (and perhaps rightly) taken to mean 'that one of your elements that underlies the rest,' *i.e.* Earth. Compare *Inf.* xxxiv. 121-126. But if we take this passage on its own merits it seems better to understand the *substrate* of the elements to mean the *prima materia* (compare ii. 106-108: vii. 133-136, and lines 22-24 of this Canto); the elaboration of the elements being the subsequent work of the Angels and the heavens.

56, 57. *Inf.* xxxiv.

72. These are the precise powers which Dante believed the disembodied human soul actually to possess before assuming its provisional aerial body. (See *Purg.* xxv. 83.) As far as *intelligence* and *will* are concerned, the assertion is equally true of the Angels, but not so as to *memory*. (See below.)

118. Devils are called *uccelli* in *Inf.* xxii. 96: xxxiv. 47, as here. Angels are called birds in the *Purgatorio* (ii. 38: viii. 104), but not in the *Paradiso*.

124-126. The pigs which infested Florence and its neighbourhood, and which belonged to a neighbouring monastery or monasteries, were under the patronage of St. Anthony (251-356), whose symbol is a pig. It had been well had they been the worst things fed on the proceeds of the fraudulent gains of the religious!

130. *This nature, i.e.* the Angels.

131-135. 'Daniel vii. 10 is not intended to give the number of the Angels, but to express that they are more numerous than man can conceive.'

PARADISO

WHEN it is dawn with us and noon six thousand miles to the East of us, and the shadow of the earth cast by the sun is level with the plane of our horizon, the stars one by one disappear (1-9). And in like manner the angelic rings that seemed to enclose the all enclosing divine point gradually disappeared; whereon Dante turned to Beatrice and saw her of such transcendent beauty that like every artist who has reached the extreme limit of his skill he must leave this excess unchronicled (10-33). Beatrice tells him that they have now issued forth from the heaven that compasses all space into the heaven of light, love, joy, which is not a thing of space, and where he shall behold the angels, and shall see the elect in the forms they will wear after the resurrection (34-45). A blinding flash of light

Primo Mobile	Forse sei mila miglia di lontano ci ferve l'ora sesta, e questo mondo china già l'ombra, quasi al letto piano, quando il mezzo del cielo, a noi profondo, 4 comincia a farsi tal, che alcuna stella perde il parere infino a questo fondo; e come vien la chiarissima ancella 7 del sol più oltre, così il ciel si chiude di vista in vista infino alla più bella. Non altrimenti il trionfo, che lude 10 sempre dintorno al punto che mi vinse, parendo inchiuso da quel ch' egl' inchiede, a poco a poco al mio veder si estinse; 13 per che tornar con gli occhi a Beatrice nulla vedere ed amor mi costringe.
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CANTO XXX

enwraps the poet, and his sight then becomes such that naught can vanquish it (46-60); whereon he sees (first in symbolic form, as by the stream of Time; then in their true shapes, as gathering round the circle of Eternity) the things of heaven (61-99). The light of God, striking upon the *Primum Mobile*, is reflected up upon the ranks of the blest, to whom it gives power to look upon God himself (100-117). Dante, in this region, where far and near have no relevancy, gazes upon the saints (118-126) and Beatrice bids him rejoice in their number; and then directs his sight to one of the few places yet vacant. It is appointed for the emperor Henry who shall strive to set Italy straight, but shall be thwarted by the blinding greed of the Italians and the hypocrisy of Pope Clement, whose fearful fate Beatrice proclaims (127-148).

Perchance six thousand miles away from us The angels
 blazeth the noon, and this world already
 slopeth its shadow as to a level couch,
 when the midst of heaven deep above us, be-
 ginneth to grow such that here and there a star
 loseth power to shine down to this floor;
 and as the brightest handmaid of the Sun
 advanceth, so doth the heaven close up sight
 after sight even till the most fair.
 Not otherwise the triumph which ever sporteth
 round the point which vanquished me, seeming
 embraced by that which it embraceth,
 little by little quenched itself from my sight;
 wherefore my seeing nought, and love, con-
 strained me to turn with mine eyes to Beatrice.

- Salita** Se quanto infino a qui di lei si dice 16
 fosse conchiuso tutto in una loda,
 poca sarebbe a fornir questa vice.
- La bellezza ch' io vidi si trasmoda 19
 non pur di là da noi, ma certo io credo
 che solo il suo fattor tutta la goda.
- Da questo passo vinto mi concedo, 22
 più che giammai da punto di suo tema
 suprato fosse comico o tragedo.
- Chè, come sole in viso che più trema, 25
 così lo rimembrar del dolce riso
 la mente mia di sè medesima scema.
- Dal primo giorno ch' io vidi il suo viso 28
 in questa vita, infino a questa vista,
 non m' è il seguire al mio cantar preciso ;
- ma or convien che mio seguir desista 31
 più retro a sua bellezza, poetando,
 come all'ultimo suo ciascuno artista.
- Cotal, qual io la lascio a maggior bando 34
 che quel della mia tuba, che deduce
 l'ardua sua materia terminando,
- Empireo** con atto e voce d'espedito duce 37
 ricominciò : " Noi semo usciti fuore
 del maggior corpo al ciel, ch' è pura luce ;
- luce intellettual piena d'amore, 40
 amor di vero ben pien di letizia,
 letizia che trascende ogni dolzore.
- Qui vederai l'una e l'altra milizia 43
 di Paradiso, e l'una in quegli aspetti
 che tu vedrai all'ultima giustizia."
- Come subito lampo che discetti 46
 gli spiriti visivi, sì che priva
 dell'atto l'occhio di più forti obbietti ;

If that which up till here is said of her were all Church
compressed into one act of praise 'twould be triumphant
too slight to serve this present turn.

The beauty I beheld transcendeth measure, not
only past our reach, but surely I believe that
only he who made it enjoyeth it complete.

At this pass I yield me vanquished more than
e'er yet was overborn by his theme's thrust
comic or tragic poet.

For as the Sun in sight that most trembleth, so
the remembrance of the sweet smile sheareth
my memory of its very self.

From the first day when in this life I saw her Beatrice
face, until this sight, my song hath ne'er been
cut off from the track ;

but now needs must my tracking cease from
following her beauty further forth in poesy,
as at his utmost reach must every artist.

Such as I leave her for a mightier proclamation
than of my trumpet, which draweth its arduous
subject to a close,

with alert leader's voice and gesture, did she Heaven of
again begin : " We have issued forth from the light and
greatest body into the heaven which is pure light, love
light intellectual full-charged with love, love of
true good full-charged with gladness, gladness
which transcendeth every sweetness.

Here shalt thou see the one and the other
soldiery of Paradise, and the one in those aspects
which thou shalt see at the last judgment."

As a sudden flash of lightning which so shat-
tereth the visual spirits as to rob the eye of
power to realize e'en strongest objects ;

- Empireo così mi circonfulse luce viva, 49
 e lasciommi fasciato di tal velo
 del suo fulgor, che nulla m'appariva.
- "Sempre l'amore, che quietà il cielo, 52
 accoglie in sè con sì fatta salute,
 per far disposto a sua fiamma il candelo."
- Non fur più tosto dentro a me venute 55
 queste parole brevi, ch' io compresi
 me sormontar di sopra a mia virtute ;
- e di novella vista mi raccesi, 58
 tale che nulla luce è tanto mera,
 che gli occhi miei non si fosser difesi.
- E vidi lume in forma di riviera 61
 fulvido di fulgore, intra due rive
 dipinte di mirabil primavera.
- Di tal fiumana uscian faville vive, 64
 e d'ogni parte si mettean nei fiori,
 quasi rubin che oro circonscrive.
- Poi, come inebriate dagli odori, 67
 riprofondavan sè nel miro gurge,
 e, s'una entrava, un'altra n'uscìa fuori.
- "L'alto disio che mo t' infiamma ed urge 70
 d'aver notizia di ciò che tu vei,
 tanto mi piace più, quanto più turge.
- Ma di quest' acqua convien che tu bei, 73
 prima che tanta sete in te si sazii."
 Così mi disse il sol degli occhi miei ;
- anco soggiunse : " Il fiume, e li topazii 76
 ch' entrano ed escono, e il rider dell' erbe
 son di lor vero ombriferi prefazii.
- Non che da sè sien queste cose acerbe : 79
 ma è difetto dalla parte tua,
 che non hai viste ancor tanto superbe."

so there shone around me a living light, leaving me swathed in such a web of its glow that naught appeared to me. Church triumphant

“Ever doth the love which stilleth heaven, receive into itself with such like salutation, duly to fit the taper for its flame.”

So soon as these brief words came into me I felt me to surmount my proper power ;

and kindled me with such new-given sight that there is no such brightness unalloyed that mine eyes might not hold their own with it.

And I saw a light, in river form, glow tawny betwixt banks painted with marvellous spring. River of light

From out this river issued living sparks, and dropped on every side into the blossoms, like rubies set in gold.

Then as inebriated with the odours they plunged themselves again into the marvellous swirl, and as one entered issued forth another.

“The lofty wish that now doth burn and press thee to have more knowledge of the things thou seest, pleaseth me more the more it swelleth.

But of this water needs thou first must drink, ere so great thirst in thee be slaked.” So spoke mine eyes’ sun unto me ;

then added : “The river and the topaz-gems that enter and go forth, and the smiling of the grasses are the shadowy prefaces of their reality. The last symbol-mask

Not that such things are harsh as in themselves ; but on thy side is the defect, in that thy sight not yet exalteth it so high.”

- Empireo** Non è fantin che sì subito rua 82
 col volto verso il latte, se si svegli
 molto tardato dall' usanza sua,
- come fec' io, per far migliori spegli 85
 ancor degli occhi, chinandomi all' onda
 che si deriva, perchè vi s' immegli.
- E sì come di lei beve la gronda 88
 delle palpebre mie, così mi parve
 di sua lunghezza divenuta tonda.
- Poi, come gente stata sotto larve, 91
 che pare altro che prima, se si sveste
 la sembianza non sua in che dispare ;
- così mi si cambiaro in maggior feste 94
 li fiori e le faville, sì ch' io vidi
 ambo le corti del ciel manifeste.
- O isplendor di Dio, per cu' io vidi 97
 l'alto trionfo del regno verace,
 dammi virtù a dir com' io lo vidi.
- Lume è lassù, che visibile face 100
 lo Creatore a quella creatura,
 che solo in lui vedere ha la sua pace ;
- e si distende in circular figura 103
 in tanto che la sua circonferenza
 sarebbe al sol troppo larga cintura.
- Fassi di raggio tutta sua parvenza 106
 riflesso al sommo del Mobile primo,
 che prende quindi vivere e potenza.
- E come clivo in acqua di suo imo 109
 si specchia, quasi per vedersi adorno,
 quando è nell'erbe e nei fioretti opimo,
- sì soprastando al lume intorno intorno 112
 vidi specchiarsi in più di mille soglie,
 quanto di noi lassù fatto ha ritorno.

Never doth child so sudden rush with face ^{Church}
 turned to the milk, if he awake far later than ^{triumphant}
 his wont,

as then did I, to make yet better mirrors of mine
 eyes, down bending to the wave which floweth
 that we may better us.

And no sooner drank of it mine eye-lids' rim
 than into roundness seemed to change its
 length.

Then—as folk under masks seem other than
 before, if they do off the semblance not their
 own wherein they hid them,—

so changed before me into ampler joyance the
 flowers and the sparks, so that I saw both the
 two courts of heaven manifested.

O splendour of God whereby I saw the lofty ^{Splendour}
 triumph of the truthful realm, give me the ^{of God}
 power to tell how I beheld it.

A light there is up yonder which maketh the
 Creator visible unto the creature, who only in
 beholding him hath its own peace ;

and it so far outstretcheth circle-wise that its
 circumference would be too loose a girdle for
 the sun.

All its appearance is composed of rays reflected
 from the top of the First Moved, which
 draweth thence its life and potency.

And as a hill-side doth reflect itself in water at ^{The}
 its foot, as if to look upon its own adornment ^{redeemed}
 when it is rich in grasses and in flowers,

so, mounting o'er the light, around, around, cast-
 ing reflection in more than thousand ranks I
 saw all that of us hath won return up yonder.

- Empireo** E se l' infimo grado in sè raccoglie 115
 sì grande lume, quant' è la larghezza
 di questa rosa nell' estreme foglie?
- La vista mia nell' ampio e nell' altezza 118
 non si smarriva, ma tutto prendeva
 il quanto e il quale di quella allegrezza.
- Presso e lontano lì nè pon nè leva, 121
 chè dove Dio senza mezzo governa,
 la legge natural nulla rileva.
- Nel giallo della rosa sempiterna, 124
 che si dilata, digrada e redole
 odor di lode al sol che sempre verna,
- qual è colui che tace e dicer vuole, 127
 mi trasse Beatrice, e disse: "Mira
 quanto è il convento delle bianche stole!
- Vedi nostra città quanto ella gira! 130
 Vedi li nostri scanni sì ripieni,
 che poca gente omai ci si disira.
- In quel gran seggio, a che tu gli occhi tieni 133
 per la corona che già v' è su posta,
 prima che tu a queste nozze ceni,
- sederà l'alma, che fia giù agosta, 136
 dell' alto Enrico, ch' a drizzare Italia
 verrà in prima che ella sia disposta.
- La cieca cupidigia, che vi ammalia, 139
 simili fatti v' ha al fantolino,
 che muor di fame e caccia via la balia;
- e fia prefetto nel foro divino 142
 allora tal, che palese e coperto
 non anderà con lui per un cammino.
- Ma poco poi sarà da Dio sofferto 145
 nel santo officio; ch' ei sarà detruso
 là dove Simon mago è per suo merto,
- e farà quel d'Anagna esser più giuso." 148

And if the lowest step gathereth so large a light **Church**
 within itself, what then the amplitude of the **triumphant**
 rose's outmost petals?

My sight in the breadth and height lost itself
 not, but grasped the scope and nature of that
 joyance.

Near and far addeth not nor subtracteth there,
 for where God governeth without medium the
 law of nature hath no relevance.

Within the yellow of the eternal rose, which
 doth expand, rank upon rank, and reeketh
 perfume of praise unto the Sun that maketh
 spring for ever,

me—as who doth hold his peace yet fain would
 speak—Beatrice drew, and said: “Behold
 how great the white-robed concourse!

See how large our city sweepeth! See our thrones
 so filled that but few folk are now awaited there.

On that great seat where thou dost fix thine eyes, **Henry's**
 for the crown's sake already placed above it, **throne**
 ere at this wedding feast thyself do sup,

shall sit the soul (on earth 't will be im-
 perial), of the lofty Henry who shall come to
 straighten Italy ere she be ready for it.

The blind greed which bewitcheth you hath
 made you like the little child who dieth of
 hunger and chaseth off his nurse;

and he who then presideth in the court of things
 divine shall be such an one as, openly and
 covertly, shall not tread the same path with him.

But short space thereafter shall he be endured of **Clement**
 God in the sacred office; for he shall be thrust **and**
 down where Simon Magus is for his desert, **Boniface**
 and lower down shall force him of Anagna.”

43. The redeemed and the Angels. The former as though reclud with the body.

79-81. Compare xxxiii. 109-114, and *Argument*. *Harsh*, literally unmellowed, and therefore "repellent to the senses"; here, "repellent to the mind; not to be assimilated by it without jar.

97. Bearing in mind Dante's careful use of the word *splendor* (compare xxix. 13-15, *note*), and following the descriptions of this Canto closely, we may conclude that the perpetual reflection of the light of God cast back from the *primum mobile* upon the eyes of the saints, ministers to their perpetual power of looking direct into the light itself. See lines 100, 101. Nearly the same phrase is used in xiv. 48 for internal light, or power of vision.

114. All the redeemed that had regained their native heaven.

121-123. It had been maintained by Democritus, but was denied by Aristotle, that were it not for the medium, even the smallest things could be seen at any distance whatsoever. This is one of the many instances in which Dante gives a spiritual turn to the physical speculations of the Greeks.

137. See Gardner, i. 6, and the account of Henry's expedition in Villani.

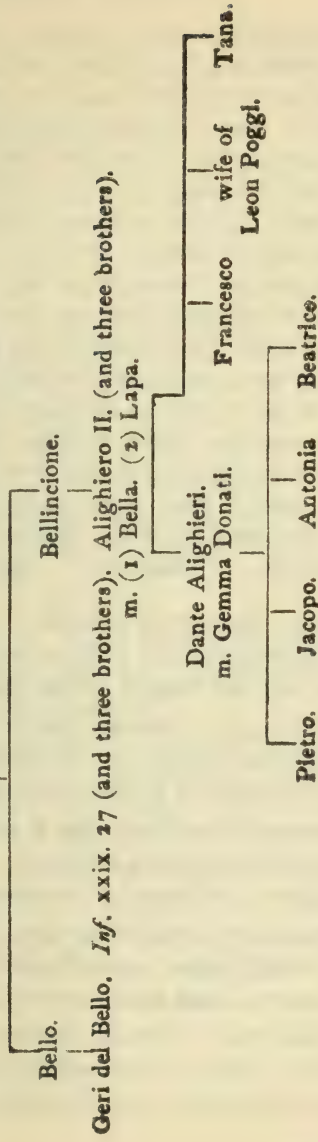
143, 144. The translation should be taken as meaning that Clement, while outwardly favouring Henry, would secretly oppose him; which agrees with xvii. 82, and is a not inaccurate description of Clement's conduct. Compare *Epist.* v. 165-170 (§ 10). But the Italian, like the translation, will also bear the meaning "who will work against him (Henry) openly and covertly," and this interpretation is preferred by many scholars, perhaps as bringing a more concrete charge against Clement, and so leading up better to the "thereafter" of line 145.

145. Henry died in August 1313, Clement in April 1314.

146-148. Compare *Inf.* xix. 52 and 77.

Cacciaguida (brothers Moronto and Eliseo. *Parad.* xv. 136).
m. an Alighieri.

Alighiero I. *Parad.* xv. 91-94 (and a brother).



PARADISO

THE redeemed are seen, rank above rank, as the petals of the divine rose; and the angels flying between them and God minister peace and ardour to them, for passion is here peaceful and peace passionate. Nor does this angelic multitude intercept the piercing light of God nor the piercing sight of the redeemed (1-24). The realm, whose joy no longer needs the stimulus supplied by the fear of losing it or the effort to retain it, centres its look and love on the triune God. Oh! that he would look down on the storm-tossed earth; from the most evil quarter of which Dante coming to that region is smitten dumb by the contrast (25-42). Mutely gazing, as the pilgrim at the shrine of his pilgrimage, thinking to tell again what he has seen, Dante after a time turns to question Beatrice, but finds her gone (43-60). Bernard, the type of contemplation, or immediate vision, has come at

Empireo In forma dunque di candida rosa
 mi si mostrava la milizia santa,
 che nel suo sangue Cristo fece sposa;
 ma l'altra, che volando vede e canta 4
 la gloria di colui che la innamora
 e la bontà che la fece cotanta,
 sì come schiera d'api, che s' infiora 7
 una fiata ed una si ritorna
 là dove suo lavoro s' insapora,
 nel gran fior discendeva, che s'adorna 20
 di tante foglie, e quindi risaliva
 là dove il suo amor sempre soggiorna.
 Le facce tutte avean di fiamma viva, 23
 e l'ali d'oro, e l'altro tanto bianco
 che nulla neve a quel termine arriva.

CANTO XXXI

Beatrice's request, to bring Dante to the goal of his desire, by directing his eyes to that actual vision of divine things in their true forms for which her patient instructions have prepared him. And he first directs his sight to Beatrice herself in her place of glory. To her he pours out his gratitude, while imploring her further protection and praying that he may live and die worthy of her love; whereon she smiles upon him and then turns to God in whom alone is true and abiding union of human souls (61-93). Dante now learns who his guide is and gazes with awe-struck wonder on the features of the saint who had seen God while yet on earth; then, at his prompting, he looks above and sees the glory of Mary like the glory of the dawn, flaming amongst countless angels—each one having his own specific beauty of light and gesture—and gladdening all the saints (94-142).

In form, then, of a white rose displayed itself **Church**
to me that sacred soldiery which in his blood **triumphant**
Christ made his spouse;
but the other, which as it flieth seeth and doth
sing his glory who enamoureth it, and the
excellence which hath made it what it is,
like to a swarm of bees which doth one while
plunge into the flowers and another while wend
back to where its toil is turned to sweetness,
ever descended into the great flower adorned
with so many leaves, and reascended thence
to where its love doth ceaseless make sojourn.
They had their faces all of living flame, and **Angels**
wings of gold, and the rest so white that never
snow reacheth such limit.

- Empireo** Quando scendean nel fior, di banco in banco 16
 porgevan della pace e dell'ardore,
 ch' egli acquistavan ventilando il fianco,
 nè lo interporsi tra il di sopra e il fiore 19
 di tanta plenitudine volante
 impediva la vista e lo splendore ;
 chè la luce divina è penetrante 22
 per l'universo, secondo ch' è degno,
 sì che nulla le puote essere ostante.
- Questo sicuro e gaudioso regno, 25
 frequente in gente antica ed in novella,
 viso ed amore avea tutto ad un segno.
- O trina luce, che in unica stella 28
 scintillando a lor vista sì gli appaga,
 guarda quaggiù alla nostra procella.
- Se i Barbari, venendo di tal plaga, 31
 che ciascun giorno d' Elice si copra,
 rotante col suo figlio ond' ell' è vaga,
- vedendo Roma e l'ardua sua opra 34
 stupefaciensi, quando Laterano
 alle cose mortali andò di sopra ;
- io, che al divino dall'umano, 37
 all'eterno dal tempo era venuto,
 e di Fiorenza in popol giusto e sano,
- di che stupor dovea esser compiuto ! 40
 certo tra esso e il gaudio mi facea
 libito il non udire, e starmi muto.
- E quasi peregrin, che si ricrea 43
 nel tempio del suo voto riguardando,
 e spera già ridir com' ello stea,
- sì per la viva luce passeggiando, 46
 menava io gli occhi per li gradi,
 mo su, mo giù, e mo ricircolando.

When they descended into the flower, from rank to rank they proffered of the peace and of the ardour which they acquired as they fanned their sides, nor did the interposing of so great a flying multitude, betwixt the flower and that which was above, impede the vision nor the splendour ; for the divine light so penetrateth through the universe, in measure of its worthiness, that nought hath power to oppose it.

Church
triumphant

This realm, secure and gladsome, thronged with ancient folk and new, had look and love all turned unto one mark.

O threefold light, which in a single star, glinting upon their sight doth so content them, look down upon our storm !

If the Barbarians coming from such region as Rome every day is spanned by Helice, wheeling with her son towards whom she yearneth,

on seeing Rome and her mighty works—what time the Lateran transcended mortal things—were stupified ;

what then of me, who to the divine from the human, to the eternal from time had passed, and from Florence to a people just and sane,

From
Florence to
Heaven

with what stupor must I needs be filled ! verily, what with it and what with joy, my will was to hear nought and to be dumb myself.

As the pilgrim who doth draw fresh life in the temple of his vow as he gazeth, and already hopeth to tell again how it be placed,

so, traversing the living light, I led mine eyes along the ranks, now up, now down, and now round circling.

- Empireo** Vedeà di carità visi suadi, 49
 d'altrui lume fregiati e del suo riso,
 ed atti ornati di tutte onestadi.
- La forma general di Paradiso 52
 già tutta mio sguardo avea compresa,
 e in nulla parte ancor fermato il viso ;
- e volgeami con voglia riaccesa 55
 per domandar la mia donna di cose,
 di che la mente mia era sospesa.
- Uno intendeà, ed altro mi rispose ; 58
 credea veder Beatrice, e vidi un sene
 vestito con le genti gloriose.
- Diffuso era per gli occhi e per le gene 62
 di benigna letizia, in atto pio,
 quale a tenero padre si conviene.
- Ed : " Ella ov' è ? " di subito diss' io ; 64
 ond'egli : " A terminar lo tuo disiro
 mosse Beatrice me del loco mio ;
- e se riguardi su nel terzo giro 67
 del sommo grado, tu la rivedrai
 nel trono che i suoi meriti le sortiro. "
- Senza risponder gli occhi su levai, 70
 e vidi lei che si facea corona,
 riflettendo da sè gli eterni rai.
- Da quella region, che più su tuona, 73
 occhio mortale alcun tanto non dista,
 qualunque in mare più giù s'abbandona,
 quanto lì da Beatrice la mia vista ; 76
 ma nulla mi facea, chè sua effige
 non discendeva a me per mezzo mista.
- " O donna, in cui la mia speranza vige, 79
 e che soffristi per la mia salute
 in Inferno lasciar le tue vestige ;

I saw countenances suasive of love, adorned by another's light and their own smile, and gestures graced with every dignity. **Church triumphant**

The general form of Paradise my glance had already taken in, in its entirety, and on no part as yet had my sight paused ;

and I turned me with rekindled will to question my Lady concerning things whereanent my mind was in suspense.

One thing I purposed, and another answered me ; I thought to see Beatrice, and I saw an elder clad like the folk in glory.

His eyes and cheeks were overpoured with benign gladness, in kindly gesture as befits a tender father. **Bernard**

And : "Where is she?" all sudden I exclaimed ; whereunto he : "To bring thy desire to its goal Beatrice moved me from my place ;

and if thou look up to the circle third from the highest rank, thou shalt re-behold her, on the throne her merits have assigned to her."

Without answering I lifted up mine eyes and saw her, making to herself a crown as she reflected from her the eternal rays.

From that region which thundereth most high, no mortal eye is so far distant, though plunged most deep within the sea,

as there from Beatrice was my sight ; but that **Beatrice** wrought not upon me, for her image descended not to me mingled with any medium.

"O Lady, in whom my hope hath vigour, and who for my salvation didst endure to leave in Hell thy footprints ;

- Empireo** di tante cose, quante io ho vedute,
dal tuo potere e dalla tua bontate
riconosco la grazia e la virtute. 82
- Tu m' hai di servo tratto a libertate 85
per tutte quelle vie, per tutti i modi,
che di ciò fare avei la potestate.
- La tua magnificenza in me custodi 88
sì che l'anima mia, che fatta hai sana,
piacente a te dal corpo si disnodi."
- Così orai; ed ella sì lontana, 91
come pareva, sorrise, e riguardommi;
poi si tornò all'eterna fontana.
- E il santo sene: "Acciocchè tu assommi 94
perfettamente, disse, il tuo cammino,
a che prego ed amor santo mandommi,
vola con gli occhi per questo giardino; 97
chè veder lui t'acconcerà lo sguardo
più al montar per lo raggio divino.
- E la Regina del cielo, ond' i' ardo 100
tutto d'amor, ne farà ogni grazia,
però ch' io sono il suo fedel Bernardo."
- Quale è colui, che forse di Croazia 103
viene a veder la Veronica nostra,
che per l'antica fama non si sazia,
ma dice nel pensier, fin che si mostra: 106
"Signor mio Gesù Cristo, Dio verace,
or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?"
- tale era io mirando la vivace 109
carità di colui, che in questo mondo,
contemplando, gustò di quella pace.
- "Figliuol di grazia, questo esser giocondo, 112
cominciò egli, non ti sarà noto
tenendo gli occhi pur quaggiù al fondo;

of all the things which I have seen I recognise the grace and might, by thy power and by thine excellence. Church triumphant

Thou hast drawn me from a slave to liberty by all those paths, by all those methods by which thou hadst the power so to do.

Preserve thy munificence in me, so that my soul which thou hast made sound, may unloose it from the body, pleasing unto thee."

So did I pray; and she, so distant as she seemed, smiled and looked on me, then turned her to the eternal fountain.

And the holy elder said: "That thou mayest Bernard consummate thy journey perfectly—whereto prayer and holy love dispatched me,—

fly with thine eyes throughout this garden; for gazing on it will equip thy glance better to mount through the divine ray.

And the Queen of heaven for whom I am all burning with love, will grant us every grace, because I am her faithful Bernard."

As is he who perchance from Croatia cometh The Veronica to look on our Veronica and because of ancient fame is sated not,

but saith in thought, so long as it be shown;

"My Lord Jesus Christ, true God, and was this, then, the fashion of thy semblance?"

such was I, gazing upon the living love of him who in this world by contemplation tasted of that peace.

"Son of grace! this joyous being," he began, "will not become known to thee by holding thine eyes only here down at the base;

- Empireo ma guarda i cerchi fino al più remoto,
 tanto che veggì seder la Regina,
 cui questo regno è suddito e devoto.” 115
- Io levai gli occhi; e come da mattina
 le parti oriental dell’ orizzonte 118
 superchian quella dove il sol declina,
 così, quasi di valle andando a monte, 121
 con gli occhi vidi parte nello estremo
 vincer di lume tutta l’altra fronte.
- E come quivi, ove s’ aspetta il temo 124
 che mal guidò Fetonte, più s’ infiamma,
 e quindi e quindi il lume è fatto scemo;
 così quella pacifica oriafiamma 127
 nel mezzo s’ avvivava, e d’ ogni parte
 per egual modo allentava la fiamma.
- Ed a quel mezzo, con le penne sparte, 130
 vidi più di mille Angeli festanti,
 ciascun distinto e di fulgore e d’arte.
- Vidi quivi ai lor giochi ed ai lor canti 133
 ridere una bellezza, che letizia
 era negli occhi a tutti gli altri santi.
- E s’ io avessi in dir tanta divizia, 136
 quanto ad imaginar, non ardirei
 lo minimo tentar di sua delizia.
- Bernardo, come vide gli occhi miei 139
 nel caldo suo calor fissi ed attenti,
 li suoi con tanto affetto volse a lei,
 che i miei di rimirar fe’ più ardenti. 142

17. *Peace and ardour.* The collocation is significant.
 (See *Argument*.)

25. *Secure and gladsome* (See *Argument*, and compare
 xxvii. 9.)

31-33. Helicē was turned into a bear by Juno's

but look upon the circles, even to the remotest, **Church triumphant**
 until thou seest enthroned the Queen to whom
 this realm is subject and devoted.

I lifted up mine eyes, and as at morn the oriental
 regions of the horizon overcome that where
 the sun declineth,

so, as from the valley rising to the mountain ;
 with mine eyes I saw a region at the bound-
 ary surpass all the remaining ridge in light.

And as with us that place where we await the
 chariot pole that Phaëton guided ill, is most
 aglow, and on this side and on that the light
 is shorn away ;

so was that pacific oriflame quickened in the
 midst, on either side in equal measure tem-
 pering its flame.

And at that mid point, with outstretched wings,
 I saw more than a thousand Angels making
 festival, each one distinct in glow and art.

I saw there, smiling to their sports and to their **Mary**
 songs, a beauty which was gladness in the
 eyes of all the other saints.

And had I equal wealth in speech as in con-
 ception, yet dared I not attempt the smallest
 part of her delightsomeness.

Bernard, when he saw mine eyes fixed and eager
 towards the glowing source of his own glow,
 turned his eyes to her, with so much love that
 he made mine more ardent to re-gaze.

jealousy, and then transferred by Jupiter to the heavens,
 as the constellation of the Great Bear ; her son (Orcas)
 being changed into Boötes.

33. The brightest star in Bootes is Arctūrus, to
 which the bow of the bear's tail points. If we are to

take Dante as describing the region over which Arcturus never sets, we should have to go as far north as 70° latitude, but his notions of northern geography may have been vague; he means to indicate barbarians coming from the far north.

35, 36. Obviously the Lateran stands for Rome—the part for the whole, but many commentators seek for a special significance in the selection of this particular palace to represent the whole city. The ambiguity of the phrase “transcended mortal things” and the natural association of the Lateran (which in Dante’s time was the Papal palace) with the Church, have led some scholars to explain the passage as a reference to pilgrims from the far north coming to Rome in the days when the Church minded spiritual things. But this is obviously a mistake. The Lateran was (and is) currently believed to have been an imperial palace from the days of Nero until Constantine presented it to Pope Sylvester; and the passage doubtless refers to the amazement felt by the rude barbarians at the stupendous edifices of Rome, at the period ‘when the imperial seat surpassed in magnificence all the works of man.’

64-93. “Blessed is he who loves thee and his friend in thee, and his enemy for thy sake; for he alone never loses any dear one to whom all are dear in him who is never lost” (Augustine). True union consists not in an exclusively appropriating possession of the dear one, but in the divine fruition of the union. Compare xxxiii. 100-105; also *Purg.* xix. 136-138. For the rest, note how Beatrice’s human personality drops its allegorical veil and shines in its simple purity in this closing scene.

78. Compare xxx. 121-123.

88. *Magnificence* in mediæval writings is often to be

interpreted by the use of *magnificentia* in the Latin Aristotle. It is the translation of *μεγαλοπρέπεια* which means *munificence*, i.e. liberality or generosity, but on a grand scale. A man may be liberal with small means, but not munificent. See the table in Wallace, 60, where *vulgarity* is to be taken as *vulgar ostentation*.

102. Bernard's devotion to the Virgin Mary is expressed in his four homilies, "*De laudibus Virginis matris*," and his nine sermons for the feasts of her *Purification*, *Assumption*, *Nativity*, &c., as well as incidentally in other works. It is noteworthy that he opposed the celebration of her Immaculate Conception. His contemporary, Peter Cellensis, says of him: "He was the most intimate fosterling of Our Lady, to whom he dedicated not only one monastery, but the monasteries of the whole Cistercian order."

103-105. St. Veronica lent her kerchief to Christ to wipe his brow as he was bearing the cross, and when he returned it, it bore the impress of his features. It was exhibited at Rome annually at the New Year and at Easter. Compare *Vita Nuova*, xli.

109-111. St. Bernard was the type of contemplation, and the question was even raised whether he had not seen God "essentially" (*per essentiam*) while yet living.

124-125. The point at which the sun is about to rise.

127. The Oriflame (*aurea flamma*) was the standard given by the Angel Gabriel to the ancient kings of France, representing a flame on a golden ground. No one who fought under it could be conquered. The golden glow of heaven is the invincible ensign not of war but peace.

132. According to mediæval angelology, each angel constituted in itself a distinct species. (Compare *xxix*. 136-141.)

PARADISO

BEGINNING with Mary, Bernard indicates to Dante the great distinctions of heaven. Cleaving the rose downwards into two halves run the lines that part those who looked forward to Christ about to come from those who looked back upon him after he had come. Mary who had faith in Christ before he was conceived ranks as a Hebrew, and John Baptist who, when still in the womb, greeted him and afterwards proclaimed him as already come, ranks as a Christian. The two aspects of the faith embrace equal numbers of saints, the one tale being already full and the other near upon it. Midway across the cleaving lines runs the circle that divides the infants who died ere they

Empireo Affetto al suo piacer, quel contemplante
libero ufficio di dottore assunse,
e cominciò queste parole sante :

“ La piaga, che Maria richiuse ed unse, 4
quella ch’ è tanto bella da’ suoi piedi
è colei che l’aperse e che la punse.

Nell’ ordine, che fanno i terzi sedi, 7
siede Rachel di sotto da costei
con Beatrice, sì come tu vedi.

Sara, Rebecca, Judit, e colei 10
che fu bisava al cantor, che, per doglia
del fallo, disse : *Miserere mei*,

puoi tu veder così di soglia in soglia 13
giù digradar, com’ io ch’ a proprio nome
vo per la rosa giù di foglia in foglia.

E dal settimo grado in giù, sì come 16
infino ad esso, succedono Ebree,
dirimendo del fior tutte le chiome ;

CANTO XXXII

had exercised free choice, and who were saved by the faith and the due observances of their parents, from those whose own acts of faith or merit have contributed to their salvation. The children are ranked in accordance with the abysmal but just and orderly judgments of God in the assignment of primal endowment (1-84). Dante then gazes in transport upon the face of Mary and sees the rejoicing Gabriel exult before her (85-114). He looks upon other great denizens of heaven, and is then bidden to turn again in prayer to Mary that after this so great preparation he may receive from her the final grace to enable him to lift his eyes right upon the Primal Love (115-151).

With his love fixed on his Delight, that contemplating saint took the free office of the teacher on him, and began these sacred words : Church triumphant
 “The wound which Mary closed and annointed, she who is so beauteous at her feet opened and thrust.

In the order which the third rank maketh sitteth below her, Rachael with Beatrice, even as thou seest. From Mary to Ruth

Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, and her from whom, third in descent, the singer came who for grief at his sin cried out *have pity on me !*

these mayst thou see from rank to rank descending ; even as I, naming their proper names, go down the rose petal by petal.

And down from the seventh onward, even as thereto, follow Hebrew dames, disparting all the flower's locks ;

- Empireo** perchè, secondo lo sguardo che fee 29
la fede in Cristo, queste sono il muro
a che si parton le sacre scalee.
- Da questa parte, onde il fior è maturo 32
di tutte le sue foglie, sono assisi
quei che credettero in Cristo venturo.
- Dall' altra parte, onde sono intercisi 35
di voti, in semicircoli si stanno
quei ch' a Cristo venuto ebber li visi.
- E come quinci il glorioso scanno 38
della donna del cielo, e gli altri scanni
di sotto lui cotanta cerna fanno,
- così di contra quel del gran Giovanni, 31
che sempre santo il deserto e il martiro
sofferse, e poi l' Inferno da due anni ;
- e sotto lui così cerner sortiro 34
Francesco, Benedetto ed Augustino,
ed altri sin quaggiù di giro in giro.
- Or mira l'alto provveder divino, 37
chè l' uno e l' altro aspetto della fede
egualmente empierà questo giardino.
- E sappi che dal grado in giù, che fiede 40
a mezzo il tratto le due discrezioni,
per nullo proprio merito si siede,
- ma per l'altrui, con certe condizioni ; 43
chè tutti questi son spiriti assolti
prima ch' avesser vere elezioni.
- Ben te ne puoi accorger per li volti, 46
ed anco per le voci puerili,
se tu li guardi bene e se gli ascolti.
- Or dubbi tu, e dubitando sili ; 49
ma io ti solverò il forte legame,
in che ti stringon li pensier sottili.

because, accordant with the way faith looked to
 Christ, these are the partition-wall whereat **Church triumphant**
 the sacred steps are parted.

On this side, wherein the flower is mature in all
 its petals, are seated who believed in Christ to
 come.

On the other side, where they are broke by
 empty seats, abide in semi-circles such as had
 their sight turned to-wards Christ come.

And as on the one side the glorious seat of the
 Lady of heaven and the other seats below it
 make so great partition,

so, over against her, doth the seat of that great John **From John to Augustine**
 who ever holyendured the desert and the martyr
 death and thereafter Hell for two years' space ;
 and beneath him the making of such severance
 hath been assigned to Francis, Benedict and
 Augustine, and others down to here from
 circle unto circle.

Now marvel at the deep divine provision ; for
 either aspect of the faith, in equal measure
 shall fill full this garden.

And know that, downward from the rank which **Children**
 in mid line cleaveth the two divisions, in virtue
 of no merit of their own they have their seats,
 but by another's, under fixed conditions ; for
 these are spirits all released ere they had
 exercised true choice.

Well mayst thou perceive it by their faces, and
 also their child voices if thou look aright and
 if thou listen.

Now thou art perplexed, and in perplexity thou
 keepest silence ; but I will loose the hard knot
 for thee wherein thy subtle thoughts are
 binding thee.

- Empireo** Dentro all' ampiezza di questo reame 52
casual punto non puote aver sito,
se non come tristizia, o sete, o fame ;
chè per eterna legge è stabilito 55
quantunque vedi, sì che giustamente
ci si risponde dall' anello al dito.
- E** però questa festinata gente 58
a vera vita non è *sine causa*
intra sè qui più e meno eccellente.
- Lo** rege, per cui questo regno pausa 61
in tanto amore ed in tanto diletto,
che nulla volontà è di più ausa,
le menti tutte nel suo lieto aspetto 64
creando, a suo piacer di grazia dota
diversamente ; e qui basti l'effetto.
- E** ciò espresso e chiaro vi si nota 67
nella scrittura santa in quei gemelli,
che nella madre ebber l'ira commota.
- Però**, secondo il color dei capelli 70
di cotal grazia, l'altissimo lume
degnamente convien che s' incappelli.
- Dunque**, senza mercè di lor costume, 73
locati son per gradi differenti,
sol differendo nel primiero acume.
- Bastava** sì nei secoli recenti 76
con l'innocenza, per aver salute,
solamente la fede dei parenti ;
poichè le prime etadi fur compiute, 79
convenne ai maschi all' innocenti penne,
per circoncidere, acquistar virtute.
- Ma** poichè il tempo della grazia venne, 82
senza battesimo perfetto di Cristo
tale innocenza laggiù si ritenne.

Within this kingdom's amplitude no chance point
 may have place, no more than sadness may nor
 thirst, nor hunger ;

Church
 triumphant

because established by eternal law is whatsoe'er
 thou seest, so that the correspondence is exact
 between the ring and finger.

Wherefore this swift-spced folk to the true life is
 here, not without cause, more or less excellent
 in mutual order.

Children

The King through whom this realm resteth in
 so great love and in so great delight that never
 will hath daring for aught more,

as he createth all minds in his own glad sight,
 doth at his pleasure with grace endow them
 diversely ; and here let the effect suffice.

And this, express and clear, is noted unto you in
 Holy Writ, anent those twins whose wrath
 was stirred within their mother's womb.

Wherefore accordant to the colour of the locks
 of such grace, needs must the lofty light en-
 chaplet them after their worth.

Wherefore, without reward for their own ways,
 they are placed in different ranks, differing
 only in their primal keenness.

Thus, in the new-born ages the parents' faith
 alone sufficed, with innocence, to secure sal-
 vation ;

Conditions
 of their
 salvation

when the first ages were complete male children
 behoved to gather power to their innocent
 wings by circumcision.

But when the time of grace had come, then
 without perfect baptism of Christ such inno-
 cence was held back there below.

- Empireo** Riguarda omai nella faccia ch' a Cristo 85
più si somiglia, chè la sua chiarezza
sola ti può disporre a veder Cristo."
- Io vidi sopra lei tanta allegrezza 88
piover, portata nelle menti sante
create a trasvolar per quella altezza,
che quantunque io avea visto davante, 91
di tanta ammirazion non mi sospese,
nè mi mostrò di Dio tanto sembiente.
- E quell'amor che primo lì discese, 94
cantando : *Ave, Maria, gratia plena*,
dinanzi a lei le sue ali distese.
- Rispose alla divina cantilena 97
da tutte parti la beata corte,
sì ch' ogni vista sen fe' più serena.
- " O santo Padre, che per me comporte 100
l'esser quaggiù lasciando il dolce loco
nel qual tu siedi per eterna sorte,
qual è quell' angel, che con tanto gioco 103
guarda negli occhi la nostra Regina,
innamorato sì che par di foco? "
- Così ricorsi ancora alla dottrina 106
di colui ch'abbelliva di Maria,
come del sole stella mattutina.
- Ed egli a me : " Baldezza e leggiadria, 109
quanta esser può in Angelo ed in alma,
tutta è in lui, e sì volem che sia,
perch' egli è quegli che portò la palma 112
giù a Maria, quando il figliuol di Dio
carcar si volle della nostra salma.
- Ma** vieni omai con gli occhi, sì com' io 115
andrò parlando, e nota i gran patrici
di questo imperio giustissimo e pio.

Look now upon the face which is most likened **Church**
unto Christ; for its brightness, and no other, **triumphant**
hath power to fit thee to see Christ."

I saw rain down upon that face such joyance **Mary**
(borne on the sacred minds created for flying
through that lofty region),

that all which I had seen before held me not in
suspense of so great marvelling, nor showed
me so great semblance of God.

And that Love which first descended to her,
singing: *Hail, Mary, full of grace* now spread
his wings before her.

The divine canticle was answered from every
side by the blest Court, so that every face
thereby gathered serenity.

"O holy Father, who for my sake acceptest
being here below, leaving the sweet place
wherein thou sittest by eternal lot,

what is that angel who with such delight looketh **Gabriel**
our Queen in the eyes, enamoured so he
seemeth all aflame?"

So did I turn again unto his teaching who drew
beauty from Mary, as from the sun the morning
star.

And he to me, "Exultancy and winsomeness as
much as there may be in angel or in soul, is
all in him; and we would have it so,

for he it is who brought down the palm to Mary,
when the Son of God willed to load him
with our burden.

But come now with thine eyes even as I
shall traverse in discourse, and note the great
patricians of this most just and pious empire.

- Empireo** Quei due che seggon lassù più felici, 118
per esser propinquissimi ad Augusta,
son d' esta rosa quasi due radici.
- Colui che da sinistra le s'aggiusta, 121
è il padre, per lo cui ardito gusto
l'umana specie tanto amaro gusta.
- Dal destro vedi quel padre vetusto 124
di santa Chiesa, cui Cristo le chiavi
raccomandò di questo fior venusto.
- E quei che vide tutt' i tempi gravi, 127
pria che morisse, della bella sposa
che s'acquistò con la lancia e coi chiavi,
siede lungh' esso ; e lungo l'altro posa 130
quel duca, sotto cui visse di manna
la gente ingrata, mobile e ritrosa.
- Di contro a Pietro vedi sedere Anna, 133
tanto contenta di mirar sua figlia,
che non move occhi per cantare Osanna.
- E contro al maggior padre di famiglia 136
siede Lucia, che mosse la tua donna,
quando chinavi, a ruinar, le ciglia.
- Ma perchè il tempo fugge, che t'assonna, 139
qui farem punto, come buon sartore
che, com' egli ha del panno, fa la gonna ;
e drizzeremo gli occhi al primo amore, 142
sì che, guardando verso lui, penetri,
quant' è possibil, per lo suo fulgore.
- Veramente (nè forse tu t'arresti 145
movendo l'ali tue, credendo oltrarti)
orando grazia convien che s' impetri,
grazia da quella che può aiutarti ; 148
e tu mi segui con l'affezione,
sì che dal dicer mio lo cor non parti.”
- E cominciò questa santa orazione. 151

Those two who sit up there, most blest by being ^{Church}
 nearest to the Empress, are as two roots of ^{triumphant}
 this our rose.

He who neighboureth her upon the left is that ^{Adam and}
 Father because of whose audacious tasting the ^{Peter}
 human race tasteth such bitterness.

On the right, look upon that ancient Father of
 Holy Church to whom Christ commended
 the keys of this lovesome flower.

And he who, ere he died, saw all the grievous ^{John}
 seasons of that fair spouse who with the lance
 and with the nails was won,

sitteth by his side ; and by the other resteth that ^{Moses}
 leader under whom was fed by manna the folk
 ungrateful, fickle and mutinous.

Over against Peter see Anna sit, so satisfied to ^{Anna}
 gaze upon her daughter that she removeth not
 her eyes to sing Hosanna.

And o'er against the greatest of housefathers sit- ^{Lucy}
 teth Lucy whomoved thy Lady when thou wert
 stooping down thy brows to thy destruction.

But since the time that doth entrance thee fleeth,
 here let us make a stop, like to the careful tailor
 who to the cloth he hath cutteth the garment ;
 and let us turn our eyes to the Primal Love, so
 that gazing toward him thou mayst pierce as
 far as may be into his shining.

But—lest perchance thou backward fall as thou ^{Prayer for}
 dost ply thy wings, thinking to forward thee, ^{grace}
 —by prayer behoveth grace to be acquired,

grace from her who hath power to aid thee ;
 and do thou follow me with such affection
 that from my words thy heart be severed
 not." And he began this holy prayer.

1-60. Compare the diagram in illustration of the Rose of Paradise in Gardner.

10-13. See *Ruth* iv. 21, 22. "Boaz [the husband of Ruth] begat Obed, and Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David." Compare, further, *Psalms* li. (Vulgate l.) and its inscription.

33. The two years that elapsed between his martyrdom and the descent of Christ to Limbo. Compare *Inf.* iv. 52-63.

57. *Ring and finger* = the thing fitting and the thing to be fitted; here the grace that is given and the grace that would be appropriate.

66. Compare *Purg.* iii. 37.

67-69. See *Genesis* xxv. 22, 23; and compare *Parad.* viii. 130, 131.

II



To Canto XXVII.

70. *The colour of the locks* seems to mean nothing more than the complexion, tone, or quality of grace.

75. *Keeness* of vision, *i.e.* power to see God.

84. It is noteworthy that Bernard himself, in a treatise addressed to Hugo of St. Victor, shrinks from this appalling conclusion. "We must suppose that the ancient sacraments were efficacious as long as it can be shown that they were not notoriously prohibited. And after that? It is in God's hands. Not mine be it to set the limit!"

127-129. John the Evangelist. The allusion is not to his long life, but to the vision recorded in the *Apocalypse*, regarded as a prophecy of the future sufferings of the Church.

137, 138. See *Inf.* ii.

I



To Canto XXII.

PARADISO

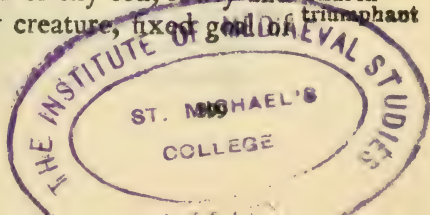
THE final goal of divine Providence, the mysteries of the incarnation and the redemption, the contrast between earthly hope and heavenly fruition, the whole order of the spiritual universe epitomised in the poet's journey, the crowning grace still awaiting him, the need of yet further purging away of mortal dross if he is to receive it, the high obligation that will rest upon his life hereafter, the sustaining grace that will be needed to enable him to meet it by keeping his affections true to so great a vision, and the intense sympathy with which all the saints enter into his aspiration and plead for the fulfilment of the utmost grace to him as a part of their own bliss,—all this, with the praises of the Virgin, etherialised into the very perfume of devotion, rises in Bernard's prayer to Mary (1-39). Mary answers the prayer by looking into the light of God, thereby to gain Bernard's petition for Dante; and Dante, anticipating Bernard's permission, with the passion of his longing already assuaged by the peace of now assured fruition, looks right into the deep light (40-54). Memory cannot hold the experience that then was his, though it retains the sweetness that was born of it. But as he gropes for the recovery of some fragment of his vision, he feels in the throb of an ampler joy the assurance that he is touching on the truth as he records his belief that he saw the whole essence of the universe, all beings and all their attributes and all their relations, no longer as scattered and imperfect fragments, but as one perfect whole, and that whole naught else

Empireo "Vergine madre, figlia del tuo figlio,
umile ed alta più che creatura,
termine fisso d'eterno consiglio,

CANTO XXXIII

than one single flame of love. So keen is the light of that flame that it would shrivel up the sight if it should turn aside. But that may not be, since *good*, which is the object of all volition, is whole and perfect in it, and only fragmentary and imperfect away from it, so that a free will cannot by its nature turn away; and the sight is ever strengthened that turns right into it (55-105). As when we look upon a picture or a script, glorious but at first imperfectly mastered by us, and as our eyes slowly adjust themselves, the details rise and assert themselves and take their places, and all the while that the impression changes and deepens the thing that we look upon changes not nor even seems to change, but only we to see it clearer, so Dante's kindling vision reads deeper and deeper into the unchanging glory of the triune Deity, till his mind fastens itself upon the contemplation of the union (in the second Person) of the circle of Deity and the featured countenance of humanity—the unconditioned self-completeness of God that reverent thought asserts and the character and features which the heart demands and which its experience proclaims,—but his powers fail to grapple with the contradiction till the reconciliation is brought home to him in a flash of exalted insight. Then the vision passes away and may not be recalled, but already all jarring protest and opposition to the divine order has given way in the seer's heart to oneness of wish and will with God, who himself is love (106-145)

“Virgin mother, daughter of thy son, lowly and Church
 uplifted more than any creature, fixed god of triumphant
 the eternal counsel,



- Empireo** tu se' colei, che l'umana natura 4
nobilitasti sì che il suo Fattore
non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura.
- Nel ventre tuo si raccese l' amore, 7
per lo cui caldo nell' eterna pace
così è germinato questo fiore.
- Qui sei a noi meridiana face 10
di caritate, e giuso, intra i mortali,
sei di speranza fontana vivace.
- Donna, sei tanto grande e tanto vali, 13
che qual vuol grazia ed a te non ricorre,
sua disianza vuol volar senz'ali.
- La tua benignità non pur soccorre 16
a chi domanda, ma molte fiate
liberamente al domandar precorre.
- In te misericordia, in te pietate, 19
in te magnificenza, in te s'aduna
quantunque in creatura è di bontate.
- Or questi, che dall' infima lacuna 22
dell' universo infin qui ha vedute
le vite spiritali ad una ad una,
- supplica a te, per grazia, di virtute 25
tanto che possa con gli occhi levarsi
più alto verso l' ultima salute ;
- ed io, che mai per mio veder non arsi 28
più ch' io fo per lo suo, tutti i miei preghi
ti porgo, e prego che non sieno scarsi,
- perchè tu ogni nube gli dislegghi 31
di sua mortalità coi preghi tuoi,
sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi.
- Ancor ti prego, Regina che puoi 34
ciò che tu vuoi, che conservi sani,
dopo tanto veder, gli affetti suoi.

thou art she who didst human nature so ennoble Church
triumphant
that its own Maker scorned not to become
its making.

In thy womb was lit again the love under whose
warmth in the eternal peace this flower hath
thus unfolded.

Here art thou unto us the meridian torch of Praise of
Mary
love and there below with mortals art a
living spring of hope.

Lady thou art so great and hast such worth,
that if there be who would have grace yet
betaketh not himself to thee, his longing
seeketh to fly without wings.

Thy kindliness not only succourest whoso re-
questeth, but doth oftentimes freely forerun
request.

In thee is tenderness, in thee is pity, in thee
munificence, in thee united whatever in created
being is of excellence.

Now he who from the deepest pool of the Prayer for
Dante
universe even to here hath seen the spirit
lives one after one

implorest thee, of grace, for so much power as
to be able to uplift his eyes more high towards
final bliss;

and I, who never burned for my own vision more
than I do for his, proffer thee all my prayers
and pray they be not scant

that thou do scatter for him every cloud of his
mortality with prayers of thine, so that the
joy supreme may be unfolded to him.

And further do I pray thee, Queen who can'st
all that thou wilt, that thou keep sound for
him, after so great a vision, his affections.

- Empireo** Vinca tua guardia i movimenti umani ; 37
vedi Beatrice con quanti beati
per li miei preghi ti chiudon le mani.”
- Gli occhi da Dio dilette e venerati, 40
fissi nell’ orator, ne dimostraro
quanto i devoti preghi le son grati.
- Indi all’ eterno lume si drizzaro, 43
nel qual non si de’ creder che s’ invii
per creatura l’ occhio tanto chiaro.
- Ed io ch’ al fine di tutti i disii 46
m’ appropinquava, sì com’ io dovea,
l’ ardor del desiderio in me finii.
- Bernardo m’ accennava, e sorridea, 49
perch’ io guardassi suso : ma io era
già per me stesso tal qual ei volea ;
- chè la mia vista, venendo sincera, 52
e più e più entrava per lo raggio
dell’ alta luce, che da sè è vera.
- Da quinci innanzi il mio veder fu maggio 55
che il parlar nostro ch’ a tal vista cede,
e cede la memoria a tanto oltraggio.
- Qual è colui che somniando vede, 58
che dopo il sogno la passione impressa
rimane, e l’ altro alla mente non riede ;
- cotal son io, chè quasi tutta cessa 61
mia visione, ed ancor mi distilla
nel cor lo dolce che nacque da essa.
- Così la neve al sol si disigilla, 64
così al vento nelle foglie lievi
si perdea la sentenza di Sibilla.
- O somma luce, che tanto ti levi 67
dai concetti mortali, alla mia mente
ripresta un poco di quel che parevi,

Let thy protection vanquish human ferments ; Church triumphant
 see Beatrice, with how many Saints, for
 my prayers folding hands."

Those eyes, of God beloved and venerated,
 fixed upon him who prayed, showed us how
 greatly devout prayers please her.

Then to the eternal light they bent themselves, Mary
 wherein we may not ween that any creature's
 eye findeth its way so clear.

And I, who to the goal of all my longings was
 drawing nigh, even as was meet the ardour of
 the yearning quenched within me.

Bernard gave me the sign and smiled to me that Dante looketh upon God
 I should look on high, but I already of myself
 was such as he would have me ;

because my sight, becoming purged, now more
 and more was entering through the ray of the
 deep light which in itself is true.

Thence forward was my vision mightier than
 our discourse, which faileth at such sight, and
 faileth memory at so great outrage.

As is he who dreaming seeth, and when the
 dream is gone the passion stamped remaineth,
 and nought else cometh to the mind again ;

even such am I ; for almost wholly faileth me
 my vision, yet doth the sweetness that was
 born of it still drop within my heart.

So doth the snow unstamp it to the sun, so to
 the wind on the light leaves was lost the
 Sybil's wisdom.

O light supreme who so far dost uplift thee o'er
 mortal thoughts, re-lend unto my mind a little
 of what then thou didst seem,

- Empireo** e fa la lingua mia tanto possente,
 ch' una favilla sol della tua gloria
 possa lasciare alla futura gente ;
 chè, per tornare alquanto a mia memoria,
 e per sonare un poco in questi versi,
 più si conceperà di tua vittoria.
- Io** credo, per l'acume ch' io soffersi
 del vivo raggio, ch' io sarei smarrito,
 se gli occhi miei da lui fossero aversi.
- E** mi ricorda ch' io fui più ardito
 per questo a sostener tanto ch' io giunsi
 l'aspetto mio col valor infinito.
- O** abbondante grazia, ond' io presunsi
 ficcar lo viso per la luce eterna
 tanto che la veduta vi consunsi !
- Nel** suo profondo vidi che s' interna,
 legato con amore in un volume,
 ciò che per l'universo si squaderna ;
- sustanzia** ed accidenti, e lor costume,
 quasi conflati insieme per tal modo,
 che ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume.
- La** forma universal di questo nodo
 credo ch' io vidi, perchè più di largo,
 dicendo questo, mi sento ch' io godo.
- Un** punto solo m' è maggior letargo,
 che venticinque secoli alla impresa,
 che fe' Nettuno ammirar l'ombra d' Argo.
- Così** la mente mia, tutta sospesa,
 mirava fissa, immobile ed attenta,
 e sempre del mirar faceasi accesa.
- A** quella luce cotal si diventa,
 che volgersi da lei per altro aspetto
 è impossibil che mai si consenta.

70

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and give my tongue such power that it may leave
 only a single sparkle of thy glory unto the folk
 to come ;

Church
 triumphant

for by returning to my memory somewhat, and
 by a little sounding in these verses, more of
 thy victory will be conceived.

I hold that by the keenness of the living ray
 which I endured I had been lost, had mine
 eyes turned aside from it.

And so I was the bolder, as I mind me, so long
 to sustain it as to unite my glance with the
 Worth infinite.

Oh grace abounding, wherein I presumed to fix
 my look on the eternal light so long that I
 consumed my sight thereon !

Within its depths I saw ingathered, bound by
 love in one volume, the scattered leaves of all
 the universe ;

substance and accidents and their relations, as
 though together fused, after such fashion that
 what I tell of is one simple flame.

The universal form of this complex I think that
 I beheld, because more largely, as I say this,
 I feel that I rejoice.

The form
 of the
 universe

A single moment maketh a deeper lethargy for
 me than twenty and five centuries have wrought
 on the emprise that erst threw Neptune in
 amaze at Argo's shadow.

Thus all suspended did my mind gaze fixed,
 immovable, intent, ever enkindled by its
 gazing.

Such at that light doth man become that to turn
 thence to any other sight could not by possi-
 bility be ever yielded.

- Empireo** Però che il ben, ch' è del volere obbietto, 103
 tutto s'accoglie in lei, e fuor di quella
 è difettivo ciò che lì è perfetto.
- Omai sarà più corta mia favella, 106
 pure a quel ch' io ricordo, che di un fante
 che bagni ancor la lingua alla mammella.
- Non perchè più ch' un semplice sembiente 109
 fosse nel vivo lume ch' io mirava,
 che tal è sempre qual era davante ;
- ma per la vista che s' avvalorava 112
 in me, guardando, una sola parvenza,
 mutandom' io, a me si travagliava.
- Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza 115
 dell' alto lume parvemi tre giri
 di tre colori e d'una continenza ;
- e l'un dall' altro, come Iri da Iri, 118
 pareva riflesso, e il terzo pareva foco
 che quinci e quindi egualmente si spiri.
- O quanto è corto il dire, e come fioco 121
 al mio concetto ! e questo, a quel ch' io vidi,
 è tanto che non basta a dicer poco.
- O luce eterna, che sola in te sidi, 124
 sola t' intendi, e, da te intelletta
 ed intendente te, ami ed arridi !
- Quella circolazion, che sì concetta 127
 pareva in te come lume riflesso,
 dagli occhi miei alquanto circonspecta,
- dentro da sè del suo colore stesso 130
 mi parve pinta della nostra effige,
 per che il mio viso in lei tutto era messo.
- Qual è 'l geometra che tutto s'affige 133
 per misurar lo cerchio, e non ritrova,
 pensando, quel principio ond' egli indige ;

For the good, which is the object of the will, is Church triumphant
 therein wholly gathered, and outside it that
 same thing is defective which therein is perfect.

Now shall my speech fall farther short even of
 what I can remember than an infant's who
 still bathes his tongue at breast.

Not that more than a single semblance was in the
 living light whereon I looked, which ever is
 such as it was before ;

but by the sight that gathered strength in me
 one sole appearance even as I changed worked
 on my gaze.

In the profound and shining being of the deep The Three in One
 light appeared to me three circles, of three
 colours and one magnitude ;

one by the second as Iris by Iris seemed re-
 flected, and the third seemed a fire breathed
 equally from one and from the other.

Oh but how scant the utterance, and how faint,
 to my conceit ! and it, to what I saw, is such
 that it sufficeth not to call it little.

O Light eternal who only in thyself abidest, only
 thyself dost understand, and to thyself, self-
 understood self-understanding, turnest love
 and smiling !

That circling which appeared in thee to be
 conceived as a reflected light, by mine eyes
 scanned some little,

in itself, of its own colour, seemed to be painted The circle and the features
 with our effigy, and thereat my sight was all
 committed to it.

As the geometer who all sets himself to measure
 the circle and who findeth not, think as he
 may, the principle he lacketh ;

- Empir tale era io a quella vista nuova : 136
 veder voleva, come si convenne
 l' imago al cerchio, e come vi s' indova ;
 ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne ; 139
 se non che la mia mente fu percossa
 da un fulgore, in che sua voglia venne.
 All'alta fantasia qui mancò possa ; 143
 ma già volgeva il mio disiro e il *velle*,
 sì come rota ch' egualmente è mossa,
 l' amor che move il sole e l' altre stelle. 145

6. The Son, when he became man, was *made* in the Virgin's womb, and so by human nature.

20. Compare xxxi. 88, *note*.

44, 45. Compare iv. 30.

49-51. This furnishes one of several consistent indications that in Paradise one can see that at which he is not looking. This is one of the subtle ways in which Dante indicates that all spacial and temporal terms in Paradise are merely symbolical.

65, 66. The Cumæan Sybil wrote her oracles on leaves, which the wind then scattered in confusion.

Æneid, iii. 441 *sqq.*, vi. 74 *sqq.*

88. Compare iii. 29, *note*.

91. This *knot* or *complex* = the universe.

96. When the vision broke, a single moment plunged the actual thing he saw into a deeper oblivion than five and twenty centuries had wrought over the voyage of the Argonauts. The memory of an intent gaze, of deepening vision, of absorbed volition, of a final flash of insight—the assured possession of a will and affections laid to rest by the sweetness of what came to him—the uncertain impression of the images and symbols

such was I at this new seen spectacle ; I would perceive how the image consorteth with the circle, and how it setteth there ;

Church
triumphant

but not for this were my proper wings, save that my mind was smitten by a flash wherein its will came to it.

To the high fantasy here power failed ; but already my desire and will were rolled— even as a wheel that moveth equally—by the Love that moves the sun and the other stars.

The end

amid which it came—all these remain : but the vision itself is utterly past recall. Cf. i. 4-9.

The Argo was the first ship,—a new thing to Neptune.

118-120. Compare x. 2 : xii. 10-15.

133-135. The problem loosely described as “squaring the circle” is stated by Dante with his usual accuracy. The radius and circumference of a circle being incommensurable, it is impossible to express the circumference in terms of the radius—as impossible as it is to express deity in terms of humanity. The radius being the unit, then, the circle cannot be exactly measured. There is no difficulty in constructing (by means of a cycloid) a square equal in area to a given circle. But compare *Conv.* ii. 14 : 218.

142-145. “The whole work was undertaken, not for a speculative but for a practical end.” And again : “the purpose of the whole [the *Comedy*] and of this portion [the *Paradiso*] is to remove those who are living in this life from the state of wretchedness, and to lead them to the state of blessedness.” *Epist. ad Can. Grand.* 273-275 and 267-270 (§§ 16 and 15).

NOTE ON DANTE'S PARADISE

THE cosmography of the *Comedy* is much simpler and easier of comprehension than is usually supposed, but it is not within the scope of this work to enter into its details. The geographical side of it is sufficiently touched upon in the notes to Canto xxvii. ; and the general principles of its astronomy are developed, with a lucidity that cannot be surpassed, by Dante himself in Chapters 3 and 4 of Book ii. of the *Convivio*. An excellent popular exposition of the whole system will be found in Witte's *Essays on Dante*¹ (Essay iv. Dante's Cosmography); and the account of the *Ptolemaic System* in any book of astronomy or cyclopædia will give an adequate general exposition of it.

The general principle by which we may pass from modern conceptions of astronomy to those which we find in the *Comedy* may be arrived at thus: We still speak of the heavenly bodies rising and setting, and revolving from East to West, although we believe that the appearances so described are really caused by the daily revolution of the earth round her axis from West to East. If we carry through the same principle of describing what we see, instead of what we believe, we shall substitute for all the other movements which we believe the earth to make, descriptions of movements in the heavenly bodies which would produce the same effect; and we shall then be speaking the language of Greek and mediæval astronomy, which corresponds immediately with the actual appearances. Thus, for the annual motion of the earth round the sun from West to East we shall substitute an annual motion of the sun round the earth. We shall continue to speak of the planets revolving round the centre of the system from West to

¹ *Essays on Dante*. By Dr Karl Witte, &c. Duckworth, 1898.

East, as we do now ; but the apparent complications in their movements due to the fact that while they are perpetually changing their position *we* too are revolving round the centre and so perpetually changing our point of view, we shall account for by supposing that *they* engraft upon their primary movement round the centre a secondary backward and forward movement in a circle, which now delays and now accelerates their progress from West to East. This is what the ancient and mediæval astronomers did. They supposed, therefore, that each planet (besides partaking the daily movement of the heavens) had two motions, one on a greater sphere, or cycle, revolving round the earth as its centre, and another on a smaller sphere, or epicycle, revolving round a point on the equator of the greater sphere. In the case of the exterior planets, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, the cycle corresponds to the planet's own movement round the sun, and the epicycle to ours. In the case of the inferior planets, Mercury and Venus, this must be reversed. Lastly, the slow top-like movement by which the direction of the earth's axis changes with respect to the fixed stars, causing what is known as the "precession of the equinoxes," will be described as a slow movement of all the fixed stars with respect to the pole of the daily revolution of the heavens. Thus it will be seen that the fundamental geometrical problems of ancient and modern astronomy are identical, and consist in resolving apparently complicated and irregular movements into a combination of simple and regular ones ; and, accordingly, the solutions found by the ancient astronomers hold perfectly good, as far as they go, to the present day, and are incorporated in modern astronomy.

It is important thus to form a clear conception of the universe as it presented itself to Dante if we wish to enter into full imaginative sympathy with him, and to reach a point of view from which we can understand how the spiritual and material worlds stood related in his conception, and the associations with which the phenomena of nature blended in his mind, and also to appreciate the scientific value of his observations.

But for the direct appreciation of the *Paradise*, little is needed in the first instance beyond a clear conception of the succession of the several heavenly bodies through which Dante ascends, and the moral and spiritual associations which they carry.

If the reader will take any diagram of the solar system as conceived in our day, and simply exchange the places of the sun and the earth (placing the earth, with her satellite the moon, in the centre of the diagram, and placing the sun where he finds the earth marked), he will have the order in which Dante, travelling upwards from the earth, reaches 1 the Moon, 2 Mercury, 3 Venus, 4 the Sun, 5 Mars, 6 Jupiter, 7 Saturn, 8 the constellation of Gemini, 9 the invisible vault beyond the Stars, 10 the Essential Heaven of Light and Love.

The accompanying table will shew the general scheme of the poem. Dante's number scheme is always based on *three* subdivided into *seven*, raised, by additions of a character differing from the rest, to *nine*, and by a last addition on an entirely different plane to *ten*.

In the infra-solar heavens, Dante meets souls whom some earthy weakness or stain has so far shorn of what once were their spiritual possibilities, that though the quality of their joy is entirely pure and unalloyed, it is of lesser intensity than it might have been had they been altogether true. Perhaps we may trace, specifically, want of unshaken *faith*, and the partial substitution of earthy for heavenly *hope* and of earthy for heavenly *love* in those three heavens. It was believed that the conical shadow cast through space by the earth, reached as far as the sphere of Venus. The symbolic significance of this does not need further insisting upon.

The sun, the great *luminary* is connected with *prudence*, the leader of the moral or cardinal virtues (see *Purg.* xxix. 130-132), taken in its widest sense; and the other cardinal virtues follow; indicating that the tone and colour of the spiritual fruition of the souls is influenced by the incidence of the moral warfare by which it was earned.

Subtle analogies and hints throughout suggest the

astrological appropriateness of the several planets as the places of manifestation of the several groups of souls.

In the constellation of Gemini all the souls are gathered together and are once more manifested to the poet though he only holds converse with members of the one supreme group to which the Apostles and our First Father belong.

In like manner the Angels are manifested in the ninth heaven or *Primum Mobile*.

But none of these nine heavens is the true abode of any spirit. They are but the symbolically appropriate meeting places appointed for Dante and the several groups of spirits. God and all blessed spirits, whether men or angels, dwell where all space is *here* and all time is *now* in the Empyrean Heaven, which the poet's vision finally reaches and where it ends.

Empyrean	10	Wherein dwell God, His angels, and His Redeemed	Heaven of Light and Love beyond space and time, wherein Spirits <i>abide</i>
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The Seven Planetary Heavens	ix. Primum mobile		9 Angels	Heavens of space, wherein spirits <i>are</i> <i>manifested</i> to the poet on his pil- grimage
	viii. Stellar Heaven		8 Souls	
	III. Supra- solar	vii. Saturn	7 Temperance	
		vi. Jupiter	6 Justice	
	II. Solar	v. Mars	5 Fortitude	
	I. Infra- solar	iv. Sun	4 Prudence	
		iii. Venus	3 Earthly love	
		ii. Mercury	2 Ambition	
		i. Moon	1 Inconstancy	

What shall then give delight shall not be so much that our wants are put to rest nor that our bliss is gained, but that God's will shall be visibly fulfilled in us and concerning us ; which also is what we implore day by day in prayer, when we say *Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.*—BERNARD.

The present edition of the "Paradiso" has been specially prepared for "The Temple Classics," by the Rev. Philip H. Wicksteed, M.A. (who is responsible for the English version and for the Arguments), and Mr H. Oelsner, M.A., Ph.D. (who is responsible for the Italian text, based on the editions of Witte, Moore and Casini). Mr Wicksteed and Mr Oelsner are jointly responsible for the notes at the end of each Canto.

Maps and Charts have been inserted, and no pains have been spared to provide the text, translation, and annotation in one small volume.

L. G.

October 13, 1899.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The preceding translation of the *Paradiso* was undertaken for the sole purpose of enabling the publisher to bring out a cheap edition of the text, accompanied with an English version. It claims no merit except having accomplished this purpose. Still less does it claim any superiority over its predecessors, or wish to enter into rivalry with them.

The translator has attempted first and foremost to satisfy himself as to the author's exact meaning, and then to express it (1) precisely, (2) with lucidity, (3) worthily, (4) with as close adherence to the vocabulary and syntax of the original as English idiom allows. He has consciously adopted a happy turn of expression in one passage from Mr Norton's translation, and in two cases he has borrowed words he had not himself been fortunate enough to hit upon from Mr Butler. The many other coincidences with these (and doubtless other) translations arose, to the best of his belief, independently.

The skill of a translator is shown in his power of so pursuing any one of the objects he has in view as to make it at the same time advance, or at any rate not obstruct the others; but wherever he fails in this, his principles of translation will declare themselves in the conscious or unconscious scale of equivalence whereby he adjusts their rival claims. What gain in one direction will he consider the equivalent of a given loss in another? Such a scale cannot be drawn out in words, and therefore no translator can accurately define his own principles of translation; but the order in which the objects aimed at have been enumerated above will indicate the translator's general conception of his task.

That translator of Dante, and particularly of the

Paradiso, is not to be envied who can issue his work without a grieved sense of something near akin to profanation, in that he has striven, counter to Dante's own protest, (see *Conv.* i. 7: 89-91.) to "expound the sense of his poems where they themselves cannot take it together with their beauty"; and, moreover, in the *Paradiso*, if anywhere, the beauty is itself at once an integral and an untransferable part of the sense. The translator's hope is that all who read his translation may find their eye turning from time to time to Dante's words, till they are insensibly taught to understand and love them; and that, in the great majority of cases, his work from the first may be taken only as a help to the understanding of Dante's words, not as a substitute for them.

The Arguments have been prepared with special care, in the hope that they may be helpful to the beginner, and of interest to the more advanced student, as an attempt to facilitate the perception of the perspective, the articulation, and the wider significance of the several portions of the poem.

P H. W.

The notes at the end of each Canto are to be taken in close connection with the Arguments, which, when carefully read, will be found to contain, directly or by implication, many explanations that the reader may perhaps have looked for in vain in the notes.

In the notes we have tried to give what help we can to the reader unacquainted with the classics, both by marking quantities and by explaining, as far as space allowed, even the more obvious classical allusions, but by no means so uniformly or fully as to supersede the constant use of a classical dictionary.

We have given references throughout to the most important illustrative passages from the Bible, but have seldom given the words. We have also assumed that the reader who is desirous of further information has access to all Dante's works, to Gardner's *Dante Primer* (Dent & Co., 1s.), to Wallace's *Outlines of the Philosophy of Aristotle* (Pitt Press Series, 4s. 6d.), and to Selfe and Wicksteed's *Selections from Villani's Chronicle* (Archibald Constable,

68.). When we have wished to refer to other writers, we have generally given their own words, merely adding the author's name without more specific reference. The *lines* given in the references to Dante's works are those of Dr Moore's "Oxford Dante."

Our obligations cannot be acknowledged in detail. They include the generally accessible commentaries and other sources of information. Amongst recent works we have found Mr Paget Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary*¹ specially useful. Many dates and some historical and biographical details have been taken direct from it.

We have not dealt in any systematic or consistent way with questions of disputed readings; and we have seldom touched upon controversial matter and never upon æsthetic points or upon allegorical refinements, but in addition to explaining references, we have endeavoured to deal, however concisely, with the more serious difficulties of the thought and teaching of the poem, so as to make our Commentary, within its limits, as complete as possible. But in these weightier matters the reader must, after all, be his own commentator; for, as one of the earliest and best of Dante scholars (Benvenuto da Imola) has remarked: "It is rather great wit than great learning that is needed for the understanding of this book."

H. O

P. H. W

¹ *A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*, by Paget Toynbee, M.A. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1898. Price, 25s. net.

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